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UNDER HIS BANNER:

PAPERS ON THE MISSIONARY WORK OF MODERN TIMES.

BY THE

REV. H. W. TUCKER, M.A.,

ASSISTANT-SECRETARY TO THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

"*Here is the patience and the faith of the Saints.*"

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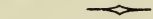
PREFACE.



I HAVE had several objects before me in writing these papers.

1. It has often been mentioned to me with regret that no existing book gave to busy people a sketch of missionary work, as carried on both by our Church and by other bodies, in each part of the world. This want is now, I hope, in some degree supplied. I have endeavoured to steer between wearisome diffuseness and the brevity which would sketch a large subject only in outline. I have refrained, as far as was possible, from indulging in statistics.

2. I entertained the hope that such a book as the present, besides being serviceable to those who already care for missionary work, might induce others to take an interest in it. The missionary spirit is not such a power in the Church of England as it ought to be. I believe that if more were known of the labours of our missionaries who are now at their posts, a lively sympathy with them would be generated in many hearts, and the depreciation of their efforts, which is too often the result of scepticism and indifference, would be silenced.

3. By simple narrative of what is now going on in

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foreign lands I wanted to cheer those who are apt to despair of the missions of the nineteenth century, and to lead them, if I might, to share what with me is a matter of firm belief, that in no age of the world have there lived truer or nobler missionaries than some who are now engaged in the work, and that never at any time was the prospect of success so bright. It is well to distrust ourselves and our work; but it is not well, with imperfect knowledge of the facts, unduly to extol the labours of others, because we either have an unacknowledged preference for the communion to which they belonged, or have but a feeble faith in our own. The histories of ancient missions have a romance about them which is attractive; but when we have removed what is legendary, and made allowances for what is uncertain, we need not fear the result, if we compare our own efforts with those of earlier times. Had St. Augustine lived in our days he would have been the subject of severe criticism: one trembles to think what religious newspapers would have said about him, when his spirit failed him after he had reached Aix, and he returned to Rome and entreated Gregory to allow him to abandon his undertaking, as he and his forty companions feared to travel further through the barbarous countries. Pictures and picturesque writers have described his interview with the heathen King Ethelbert on the Isle of Thanet; but similar interviews, which have been attended with far greater peril, have taken place in our own days on territory more barbarous even than was Kent in the sixth century, and have attracted but little notice. When

Dr. Wolff penetrated into Bokhara and confronted tyrant after tyrant, his life was not worth a day's purchase; when South African bishops and missionaries have had conferences with suspicious Kafir chiefs, and have even demanded the release of their subjects whom they had doomed to die for witchcraft, the peril of such meetings was greater by far than any to which St. Augustine was ever exposed. The coral reefs and beaches of many an island in the Pacific, the villages of Bornean Dyaks, the palace of the Burmese sovereigns, the audience chamber of the king of the Niger country, have been the scenes of meetings between heathen and Christian, full of peril to the latter, and fraught with results which cannot yet be estimated.

The same school of writers have pourtrayed the early missionaries tramping through Europe in palmer's garb or monkish habit, and crossing stormy seas in impossible vessels, and the contrast between such travels and the journeys of modern bishops and missionaries, who, in civilised clothing and with all appliances to alleviate severities of climate, travel by express trains and magnificent steamers, is, no doubt, a violent one; but, as I think, not more violent than would be the contrast drawn by a competent hand between the degrees of civilisation possessed by the two epochs at which they severally lived. What I specially desire to contend for is, that the spirit which we admire in the elder is still present in the younger generation: the Church, as well as the world, does not always know its greatest men.

A tolerably extensive and personal acquaintance

with many who are now labouring in the missionary field teaches me that there are not a few among them, who, if the occasion arose, would be found walking in the path which has been trodden by Mackenzie and Patteson. I contend, further, that all the aids which true civilisation affords are to be taken gratefully into account, when we estimate the probability of our success. These supply, in no small measure, the lack of those miracles, wherewith in apostolic times the Word was confirmed, and prove far more valuable than the "curious arts" which are not unfrequently met with in the legendary missions of mediæval days.

Having neither the wish nor the ability to enter on the field of ecclesiastical history, I have recorded only the doings of missionaries who have lived within the present century. For the sake of clearness, some who lived in earlier times have occasionally been mentioned. It is impossible to write intelligibly about Indian missions, for example, without alluding to Xavier, Ziegenbalg, and others; but this has been done in the briefest manner possible. I have not suppressed the names of many living soldiers of the Cross; indeed, one of my objects has been to show how noble work is being done at this moment by men who are unknown to the Church as well as to the world; but I hope I have succeeded in my endeavour to abstain from words of eulogy, which should never be written by the lesser of the greater.

LONDON, *Advent*, 1872.

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UNDER HIS BANNER.

I.

That a few foreigners should have possessed themselves of a vast country, 15,000 miles away from their island home, and have therein exercised government, preserved peace, and adjusted the various and intricate relationships of many tribes and peoples, speaking different languages and embracing different creeds—this has been declared to be one of the most astonishing facts of history: perhaps it is still more astonishing that India, so vast in area, so fertile in natural resources, so rich in all the elements of material grandeur, should ever have become the prey of an alien power, however great: it may be that in its wealth and in its diversities of race lies the secret of its subjection. Amid the obscurity which surrounds the history of the land and of its inhabitants, one fact is abundantly clear, that a country possessing every variety of climate, and a soil capable of producing, in richest abundance, the fruits of these widely-extending regions, must naturally have attracted the merchants of the world, and that the variety of races who dwelt within its limits, bound by no common tie, whether of politics or of religion, conduced inevitably to its disintegration.

In days so remote as to be almost prehistoric, the Hindu invaders, bringing with them the beautiful Sanscrit language,

a knowledge of which is even now in itself a polite education, poured into India from the north-west; with them the navigators of Arabia and Persia were wont to trade. Next to them the Phœnicians, those energetic pioneers of our modern commerce, grudging the delay inseparable from the long route through Arabia by Petra and Palmyra, established a direct communication between ancient Tyre and India, and built a fleet of ships on the Red Sea. In course of time, Alexandria, rising into the first rank as the emporium of Oriental merchandise, carried to the towns on either shore of the Mediterranean the products of India. With the fall of Alexandria into the hands of the Romans, the commerce was transferred to the empire, until at length Pliny complained in one of his letters that the intercourse between Rome and India had begotten a love of luxury which emptied Italy of its gold. The coins of the date of Julius Cæsar, Tiberius, and Caligula, which have been found, in considerable numbers and admirably preserved, both in Tinnevelly and in Ceylon,* bear testimony to the intercourse which once existed between Rome and India. For a while the followers of the Warrior Prophet of Arabia became possessed of Roman commerce; but on the disintegration of the Mahometan Empire, Alexandria recovered some of its former commerce and importance. The route that was opened from the Black Sea to the Indus and the Oxus conferred a short-lived importance on Syria and Constantinople; the growing taste for eastern luxuries, which demanded direct communication, gave rise to the commercial cities of Italy, and brought Genoa and Venice into the first rank. The bulk of Indian commerce came overland by the way of the Euphrates and the Red Sea; until, in 1498,

* A packet of 1,800 Roman coins was found at Batticaloa in 1872; they were chiefly copper, and of the reigns of Valens, Theodosius, and Constantine the Great.

Vasco di Gama, having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, landed at Calicut on the western coast of Hindostan. For more than three centuries this continued to be the highway to the East, until the "Overland Route" was again opened, to be still further improved by the opening of the Suez Canal.

Many nations, then, have traded with India; indeed its products were at all times such as to attract the existing commerce of the world. Three nations only have attempted its subjugation—Portugal, Holland, and England. The Portuguese, flushed with their recent triumphs, aimed at the sovereignty of the world; and a Papal Bull conferred on them the dominion of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India. Their prosperity was shortlived; the Dutch superseded them, and the trade of the East was transferred from Lisbon to Amsterdam. In the last year of the sixteenth century, Queen Elizabeth gave by a charter to a company of merchants the exclusive right of trading for fifteen years in the Chinese and Indian Seas. From this humble beginning there sprang the East India Company and British rule in India. The charter thus granted was renewed from time to time; and those whose first object was commerce, grew at length into the anomaly of an irresponsible sovereign power, until, within the memory of the present generation, India became a colony of the English Crown. The several steps by which the provinces and states of Hindostan passed into the possession of England are clearly marked. We went to the country in the first instance to trade; for twenty years we were mere sojourners, and possessed no territory; then the first British settlement was established in Madras: thirty more years elapsed, and the East India Company founded a settlement at Hooghley, which in 1698 was removed to Calcutta, then an insignificant village. In 1662 the Portuguese had given the town and island of Bombay

as part of the dowry of Katherine, wife of Charles II., by whom it was made over to the East India Company; but it was not until 1765 that the English rule was absolute in Bengal. How that rule has grown and established itself in the East is indeed a marvellous story; kingdom after kingdom has fallen to our lot; conquest, treaty, and annexation have each done their work; some territories have lapsed for lack of heirs, or by the failure of heirs to make good their claims; in other cases a series of iniquitous rulers has made it an act of mercy to the governed to transfer them to the impartial rule of a Christian sovereign; and the Proclamation of the Queen in 1858 consolidated the power which had grown up in ways so diverse, and laid on the Crown of England the responsibility of governing one-fifth of the human race.

It will serve to clear the ground if we endeavour to understand the extent of our Indian empire and the conditions of the various races who within its borders live under our rule. Few persons who have not visited this mysterious land can realise its immensity and the diversity of its peoples, its languages, and its resources. The India of to-day is not the India of twenty years ago; the British frontier has been extending itself rapidly and widely, and is now identical with that of India itself. Sir Bartle Frere * has given a very striking instance of the development of our power; he tells us of an officer who, in 1808, served on outpost duty at Tanna, twenty miles north of Bombay, and at that time the northern frontier of the British possessions in Western India, and who had lived to command, fifty years later, a brigade at Peshawur, a frontier station more than 1,000 miles as the crow flies in advance of his quarters where he had served as a subaltern; almost the whole of

* *The Church and the Age*, p. 316.

the intervening territory having in the meantime fallen under the rule of the English Crown. British India now extends from Peshawur to Singapore. Its area is nearly equal to that of Europe; it contains not one nation but a company of nations, who differ one from another as much as Spaniards differ from Russians, who speak different languages, who possess various degrees of civilisation, from that of the cultivated Hindus, who, in remotest times, were skilled in architecture and music, who were proficient mathematicians and masters of the drama, and who invented the game of chess, to the degraded savagery of the aboriginal tribes who now inhabit the Central Provinces or linger in the Burmese mountains, and in the Andaman Islands.

The subjection of such a country by a comparatively small force is an astonishing fact; still more wonderful is its retention and government. Two nations have conquered the India of their times, and have failed to hold it; it was reserved for England not only to conquer but to give to it the highest products of modern civilisation,—railways and telegraphs, just laws impartially administered, education of the most advanced kind, and even a share in the government of the country. More than once the British supremacy has been threatened. At a moment of apparent security, when Affghanistan had been recently acquired, and we were occupying a position which, commanding Central Asia and Persia, promised to be an impregnable rampart against all invasion, suddenly and without warning, the country, which had been so easily subdued, rebelled against us, our troops were slaughtered, and the whole of our Eastern empire seemed about to be broken up. Again in 1857, the mutiny was so formidable and extensive that those who thought our rule was over, had no insufficient grounds on which to base their opinion; but in both cases the danger which threatened for a while only established our power more firmly. Within a

few years of our reverses in Affghanistan, three powerful nations were defeated by us, and the reduction of the disaffected provinces in the days of the famous mutiny was followed immediately by their settlement and administration; the skill of our civilians in this latter work was not less admirable than the zeal and the courage of the generals and their soldiers who had conquered the rebellious districts. It is not a matter of surprise that from time to time muttered threats of outbreak should be heard; fanatical Wahabees incite their fellows to some deed of violence, or a blood-thirsty Hindu glories in the perpetration of a diabolical act, for which he gladly pays the penalty of his life. How long it may be necessary to rule India as a land that may at any moment rise up against its rulers, no one can predict; a country so vast is not wholly reduced to contentment and to obedience in one or in several generations; the fires of discontent may smoulder for long; nevertheless the spectacle which India now presents is unequalled: a handful of civilians and soldiers govern and hold a vast empire, and their rule confers on the land, day by day, advantages, material as well as moral, which it would never have known had it continued free and unconquered.

This result has been accomplished by no ordinary men; India has been subdued by a race of giants. The names of Clive and of Wellington, of Hastings and of Munro, of Malcolm and of Elphinstone, of Napier and of Outram, of Hardinge and of Gough, of Clyde and of Canning (and may we not add of Mayo?), are for ever identified with gifts of the very highest kind; and only such men as these could have made India what it is. They dared much and suffered much, but they had unlimited resources at their command, and they were backed by the prestige of the mightiest nation of the world. Thus they conquered and thus they ruled.

The difficulties which met them are but a portion of the

difficulties which stand in the way of those who aim at the *spiritual* conquest of India. What those difficulties are, and of what nature have been the efforts of those soldiers of the Cross who have laboured to surmount them, will form the subject of some of the following papers.

II.

We have shown in the last paper how great a work has been the subjection of our Indian empire: we desire now to show how much greater must be the task of evangelising that land, and how strikingly in each instance the very circumstances which favoured our arms and the administration of our laws, militate against the successful prosecution of the work of conversion.

In the first place, that same diversity of races of which we have already spoken is a great element of a conqueror's success. It is easier by far to subdue a country which is held by many peoples, sympathising but little one with another, than to dislodge from their fatherland a homogeneous race, inspired by the energy which is begotten of patriotism. To the missionary this diversity of race is a hindrance greater than can be described: it is a task severe enough for any ordinary mind to have to acquire, probably in middle life, a strange language, and specially one whose structure and characters are altogether different from those which are already known to him; but the curse of Babel at once confronts the Indian missionary, and, until he has acquired at least one of the native languages, he is simply useless for the work which he has set himself to do. Supposing him to have acquired with much pains a moderate knowledge of the language which he has adopted, he probably will speak it at best with broken accent and with stammering tongue, and in a manner which, grating on the

sensitive ear of an Oriental, will irritate him and make him a more unwilling listener than when he was addressed through an interpreter. The acquisition of a single language will but show the missionary how great are his deficiencies still, and make him more eager to possess the means of communicating with the other tribes with whom he meets. Moreover, a readiness of speech sufficient for purposes of conversation and of business is by no means sufficient for the man who has to speak on theological subjects, and he is harassed by the thought that an error in the selection of his words, or even in the pronunciation of any particular word, may convey a meaning which he never intended, and may present to the hearer a view of the truth hardly removed from a false or an heretical one.

The different nationalities to whom he addresses himself, however slight may be the bond of union with each other, agree in regarding the missionary as a representative of an alien race, of a civilisation which, compared to their own, is as a thing of yesterday, of a religion of which they at least know that its tendency is to contradict and overthrow the creed which has formed the hopes and fears of their remotest ancestors, and to which they are themselves attached, if not by feelings of devotion, at least by prejudice, and by the thought that its influence is bound up intimately with their own. Beyond acquiring the spoken language, the missionary should make himself master of the civilisation, the literature, and the mythology of those whom he desires to convert; and to this end he must devote himself to the study of Sanscrit. He soon finds that the literature of the West is not enough. He is confronted by problems of science, philosophy, law, and religion, which will never meet him in more practical Europe, and to these he must bring all his powers. The natural politeness of the Hindus is not sufficient to make them listen

to a man who is ignorant of their own system. The Christian teacher, therefore, must not only know his own creed, and be able to publish its truths in an intelligible form, he must know also the errors of Hinduism, and be able to set them forth, and show wherein they are false. To spiritual agents he may and must trust for his own comfort and support; but between himself and the man whom he wishes to convert it is merely a question of truth against error, of what is credible against what is incredible; and if he would convert he must convince.

Infinite as are the creeds with which he will be brought in contact, the Indian missionary will have to confront the adherents of three principal systems of religious belief—Mahometans, who are scattered up and down in India, forming in the Punjab two-thirds of the population, while in Tinnevelly they are in the proportion of one in eighteen; Hindus, of whose mysterious creed, with its system of caste, something must be said; and Buddhism, whose followers are supposed to amount to between 400,000,000 and 500,000,000. Of the followers of Mahomet it is enough to say that, while holding the knowledge of and faith in the one true God, and consequently in closer affinity with us than are the heathen, they are, and ever have been, the most determined opponents of the Gospel, and, where they can be, the most bitter persecutors of those who differ from them. Of Buddhism we shall hear more when we come to treat of Burmah and other regions in which it is dominant. Of Hinduism we now proceed to write.

Any but the very briefest sketch of this mysterious creed our space forbids. On the primitive sacred writings of the Hindus, the earliest storehouse of our common language, and abounding in what is pure and simple and quaint, the fancies of an enervated race engrafted much that is loathsome and monstrous, gross idolatry and vice masked under

the name of religion. The leading features of Hinduism are contained in the system of "Caste." This system can be traced to a period so early as nine centuries before Christ; but it nowhere appears in the sacred Vedas, whose still greater antiquity is hereby proved. From the head of Brahma there came the Sacerdotal caste, or Brahmins. These are the sole depositaries, interpreters, and teachers of the four Vedas which sprang, at the time of their emanation, from the mouth, as the Brahmins had from the head, of Brahma. From the arm or shoulder of the Deity there sprang the warrior or Kshattrya caste; from the breast, the seat of life, the Vaisya or productive caste emanated; and from the foot the Sudra or servile classes had their origin. Among the Hindus caste is not the effect of circumstances, neither is it a merely social arrangement: it is an essential and unchangeable ordinance, the greatest sticklers for which are to be found not merely among the Brahmins, who may be supposed to be personally interested in its retention, but, strange to say, among the Sudras, who are the victims of its austerity throughout their whole lives. The mere eating from a vessel used to contain the food of a person of another caste is enough to produce contamination; and the man who infringes his caste is cut off by that very act from human society. How great must be the penalty of the convert to Christianity in a land which is under bondage to this ordinance is evident on the slightest consideration. The reception of baptism, the worshipping in a Christian church side by side with the alien race, the partaking from the same chalice and from the hands of the alien priest the Holy Eucharist, estranges him at once and for ever from his family and friends; and this among a people in whose estimation family ties are unusually powerful. Surely the convert in India is won with greater toil and in the face of greater opposition than ever met the evangelisers of ancient

Greece or Rome. Those nations had no sacred books which the people regarded as the immediate revelation of the Deity. They had no priestly caste, with whose power the people conceived that their own independence was wrapped up. It is true that the Greeks and Romans persecuted the professors of the new and suspected faith. They often cried, "Christianos ad leones!" But though the Christian was persecuted to the death, he was not placed out of the pale of humanity, which is the lot of the Hindu convert who gives up his caste.

It is against such a religious system as this that the evangelist has to contend, and in the struggle he has need of profoundest wisdom and patience: on the one hand he sees a system of foul idolatry, the inevitable effect of which is to degrade and enslave the people among whom it is dominant, and he is tempted to think of it and to act towards it as being wholly an accursed thing: on the other hand he should remember that this system, be it what it may, acts as a restraint on the poor pagan, withholds him from crime,—from motives of fear it is true and not of love,—leads him to many acts of prayer and of self-denial, and is the only spiritual food, poor and unsatisfying no doubt in the eyes of more favoured people, which the wisdom of God has yet placed within the reach of a majority of the earth's inhabitants: and so if he be wise he will feel with St. Augustine that in every religion, however many its errors, there is some real and divine truth. When the missionary meets with the lower types of Indian races and confronts the gross systems of religion which prevail among the aboriginal tribes, the difficulty of accepting this precept will become still harder.

Thus we see how many are the qualifications required in those who would be evangelisers of the East. Not only must they have the gift of acquiring rapidly some at least of

the many languages which are spoken ; not only must they add to the civilisation and the highest cultivation of the West an intimate acquaintance with the far older civilisation of the East, and a familiarity with those religious systems, each of which may well be the study of a life : they must add to these the graces of patience, faith, long-suffering—be ready to seize on what of good is to be found amid a mass of corruption, the particles of gold embedded in the clay, and after all be prepared to see no result of their toils, and yet to labour on without losing hope in their work, or faith in the tidings which they have to deliver!

These qualifications presuppose that men who possess them are of the very highest type : and here the contrast between the conquerors and evangelisers of India is very marked. For the subjugation of the land the highest talent has been available : the greatest generals, the best disciplined troops, the wisest administrators have proudly given themselves to the task : it is no depreciation of services so distinguished to say that rewards the most splendid were to be reaped by those who rendered them : they were the representatives of the most powerful nation of the West, and all the appliances which wealth and skill could afford were at their command. Among the soldiers of the Cross there has been devotion and chivalry as great as any age of the world can show : and in the ranks of the missionary army which has besieged the strongholds of Eastern superstition, there have been men of the very highest intellectual gifts ; but these have necessarily been few. The prestige of the English nation has injured rather than promoted their work : they have been identified with the conquering race without receiving the homage which is rendered to victorious arms : the Portuguese missionaries received support both material and moral from their own sovereign ; the missionaries as well of Nonconformist bodies as of the

Church have received at no time support, but in many instances actual opposition, amounting in the earlier days of our rule to direct prohibition, when attempting the work which they had left their homes to perform. The Government by maintaining a very economical establishment of bishops and chaplains for the spiritual benefit of our soldiers has shown that we are not altogether a creedless people: but the connection which exists at present between the State and the Church at home has never in the slightest degree forwarded the work of the Church in India. From the first it has dwarfed, crippled, and repressed it. The existence of the episcopate was deferred for many years; and when at length, in 1814, Bishop Middleton was consecrated Bishop of Calcutta, having for his diocese the whole of India, to which were added at various times, Ceylon, Mauritius, Australia, and New Zealand, he was consecrated in private as though the episcopate was a feeble concession made to the foolish but troublesome importunity of a few fanatics; his consecration sermon was suppressed, and he was sent out to India as something contraband to find twenty English regiments without a single chaplain to minister to them! And though the non-Indian appendages of the See have long since been formed, chiefly by private munificence, into separate Sees, and India itself has three bishops to care for more than one hundred and fifty millions of souls, inexplicable reasons of state policy alone hinder a vast extension of the Indian episcopate. The portion of the diocese of Calcutta on this side of the Ganges, is as far as from London to Constantinople; the portion on the farther side of the Ganges is about half as long, and if the bishop would speak to the people committed to his care in their own tongue the wonderful works of God, he must acquire some fourteen languages, while the Bishop of Madras would have to learn only six, and the Bishop of Bombay five principal

languages. Successive bishops have urged the evident necessity of dividing a diocese so huge and unwieldy: the feeling at home is so strong that the money required for the purpose would immediately be forthcoming, but in vain are attempts made to give to our spiritual warfare the benefit of more perfect organisation.

It has been calculated that the missionaries of all Christian bodies in India have been in the proportion of 1 to 200,000 of the population. Of the majority of these it is no disparagement to say that they have not been men of the very highest intellectual calibre. However great their devotion, and however useful their labours, the case could hardly have been different: the funds available have not been on a scale to command or to compensate great talent, being supplied not from the Imperial Treasury, but from the precarious offerings of devout people, the larger portion of whom do not belong to the wealthier classes, but who make sacrifices for the propagation of what is the ground of their own faith and hope. On meagre stipends, without the sympathy, but not always without the jealousy of those in power, our missionaries have done their work: added to their other difficulties they have had the very serious one which the evil lives of professing Christians have presented to observant heathens; and it must always be remembered that moral conquests are far more difficult of achievement than material ones. The man who is conquered by sword and spear yields to the force of circumstances which he can no longer withstand: the man who is taken captive by spiritual weapons yields of his own free-will, and confesses that hitherto he has been living in error and in ignorance.

III.

BEFORE considering the more remarkable of those who, living at different times and representing various religious bodies, have laboured for the conversion of India, it may be worth while to glance at the opportunities which have been offered to that land, within the times whose history is authentic, of learning something of a purer faith.

It is more than a mere supposition that the ancestors of the Jewish communities, who are even now settled in Bombay, arrived in India before the invasion of Alexander. They must have brought with them the books of the Law, the knowledge of the true God and the expectation of the Messiah; there is more than presumptive evidence that the Gospel was preached, if not by St. Thomas himself, yet by his disciples, in the earliest age of our era, that numerous converts were made among the Jews and among the heathen by these early missionaries in the maritime provinces of Southern India, and that these Christians, driven by persecution across the Peninsula to the Malabar Coast, took refuge in Travancore. It is certain that a Christian Church, deriving its bishops from the patriarchs of Antioch and Babylon, has existed in Malabar and in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin for more than fifteen centuries, and that so early as the ninth century the character of its members attracted the notice of the native princes, who granted to them certain privileges in token of the esteem in which they held them. From time to time messengers and missionaries

were sent from the Churches of Europe and Western Asia to visit their Eastern brethren and to instruct them more fully. Our own Alfred the Great sent missionaries from his remote and semi-barbarous kingdom, that was destined one day to possess the whole peninsula of Hindostan. As Mahometanism declined from its early vigour, and literature and trade emerged from the desolation in which the overthrow of the Roman Empire had involved them, explorers, both laymen and clerks, availed themselves of the opportunity of Eastern travel. The Scriptures found a place in more than one Indian library, and the morality which they inculcated could not but be felt. Meanwhile the St. Thomé Christians in Malabar, although infected with Nestorianism and other superstitions, remained ignorant of the Papal supremacy, the cultus of the Virgin Mary, and transubstantiation, until the arrival of the Portuguese in the latter half of the fifteenth century. They welcomed their European fellow-Christians as brethren, but disputed points of doctrine soon estranged them, and on the expulsion of the Portuguese from India, some sixty years later, the Malabar congregations on the coast were absorbed into the Church of Rome, and the churches of the interior regained their independence. A Syrian bishop has assisted at ordinations held by the late Bishop Wilson of Calcutta and Bishop Carr of Bombay, and it is impossible not to feel a lively interest in every effort made with a view to intercommunion with so venerable a branch of the Catholic Church.

The part that Xavier played in familiarising the native races with the existence of the Christian creed can never be exaggerated: the numbers of his converts may be fabulous, his method of attracting them must be open to question, but his zeal and unsparing self-devotion lighted a fire that never has been quenched. One of his axioms is a golden saying, which should ever be treasured not only by the missionary

to the heathen, but by all professing Christians who live in the midst of heathens. It is as follows :—

"The living exhibition of the Christian character is the first great instrument of Christian conquests over idolatry: the inculcation of Christian truth is the second."

After Xavier, the next name of note in the roll of those who have contributed to the conversion of India is that of Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, in 1706. The Danish sovereign and people were deeply impressed with the duty of missionary work, and many a time they received the missionaries of the English Church, and harboured them in safety within their own territory, when the British authorities, through fear of arousing the jealousy of the natives, forbade them to land on the shore of India, or at least to remain on British soil. Even Ziegenbalg, although sent out with the full approval of Frederick IV., was discouraged and opposed by the Danish authorities themselves on the spot. Nothing disheartened, he and his companions gave themselves to prayer and study; as the Jesuits had done, they especially laboured to acquire the Tamul language, and were soon able to converse and preach with fluency. Their mission extended, but the funds which they had hitherto received from Denmark decreased, and were supplemented both by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the daughter Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which latter society in 1709, out of an income of less than £1,400, gave the sum of £20. With Ziegenbalg's death, funds from Denmark almost ceased, and the Danish missions were adopted by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Thus from time to time, from the beginning of the historic period, some witness of the true God and of the Christian's hope was brought to Hindostan. Now a company of Jews, now an embassy from a Western Power, now a simple traveller, now an artist or student, left some word or deed

behind him, which was destined to prepare the way for the missionary who was to come in later days, while the Malabar Church never ceased within its narrow limits to set forth the visible machinery of a Christian community. The chaplains who were maintained by the State, although few in number and unable generally to divert their attention from the soldiers, who formed their flock, to the heathen around, indirectly exercised a great influence in favour of Christianity: not for what they did in their own persons, although, indeed, some of them were bright examples of missionary zeal, but because they were the living witnesses of the fact that the country which sent them out had a national creed and was not ashamed to profess it. Such a policy is entirely consonant with Eastern ideas, which would regard a creedless nation as an anomaly too grotesque to be possible. "The oriental mind comprehends difference of religion, what it cannot comprehend is *no* religion. Brahmin may despise the unprivileged European, the Buddhist may be shocked at the man who destroys life and displays no extravagant asceticism; the Mahometan may proudly keep aloof from him who adheres to his own Prophet Jesa; but the bitterest contempt of all three classes will be reserved for the man who appears to have no God: who never worships nor prays, who has no outward shrine or symbol of his faith;"* and in that remarkable State Paper of 1858, in which the Sovereign of England proclaimed her assumption of the sovereignty of India, there was nothing which so impressed the native mind as the passages in which, while all her subjects were promised fullest toleration for their religious feelings, Her Majesty declared her firm adherence to her own creed.

In these papers it has been the writer's intention to dwell at length only on the labours of men who have lived within

* *Ramsden Sermon*, 1859, by the late Dean Milman.

the present century; but it is impossible worthily to deal with the question of Indian missions without tracing the history of such work from the beginning, and dealing, however briefly, with some of the many secondary matters which surround a problem so intricate. Three men, differing in most things from each other as widely as it is possible for men to differ, remain to be considered in the present paper, two of whom continued their labours into the nineteenth century. They are Schwartz, Henry Martyn, and William Carey: Lutheran, English Churchman, and Baptist,—one of gentle birth, one from the lower middle-class, one from the lower artisan class,—one a German student, one a senior wrangler, one a self-taught man,—they all laboured, each in his separate fashion, for one common end; and when we come to estimate the results of those labours, it may be that the man of fewest intellectual gifts will be found to have left the deepest mark, and to have done more than his two cotemporaries towards the perfection of that work at which they all aimed.

Christian Friedrich Schwartz was born in 1726, in Brandenburg, and his mother, who died before he was old enough to remember her, dedicated her child to GOD while on her deathbed, and charged her pastor and her husband to foster any inclination for the ministerial office which might appear in his growing up. No such inclination was visible for many years: at length he met with a Danish missionary who had returned to Germany to carry through the press a version of part of the Bible in Tamul, and from him he conceived the idea of offering himself for the work in which his friend was engaged. He at once met with the hindrances which have kept so many men out of the mission field: his friends opposed his scheme—he was the eldest son and it was improbable that his father would allow him to go. But the conduct of that devout father reminds us of the conduct

of another Christian parent who, some century later, gave up *his* eldest son to the work of God in the South Pacific Ocean. The elder Schwartz devoted three days to prayer, and at the end of them, coming down gravely from his chamber, he called his son, gave him his blessing and bade him depart in the name of God and win many souls to Christ.

It is not intended to sketch at any length the labours of one whose career is familiar to all who have any acquaintance with missionary work. The blessing of his good father seems to have accompanied him in his work: he attracted companions of like mind with himself; their simple habits, which indeed were rigidly ascetic, made a great impression on the heathen, who regard asceticism and self-denial as necessary accompaniments of religious faith. They travelled, two and two, on foot through the villages; their German patience and endurance, their steady judgment, their marvellous integrity influenced all. Schwartz himself seems to have had a gift of acquiring languages which has only been equalled in modern times by the martyred Bishop of Melanesia, with whom we have already compared him, and while disregarding all comfort, he had a native dignity which gave him power over rajahs and attracted to him the humblest Shanar. After long training at the mission station which the Danes established at Tranquebar, he went, just a century ago, and founded the first mission in Tinnevelly, still the brightest spot in India, where now Christian villages ministered to by native priests and deacons, and raising among themselves much of the worldly means required for the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, stand forth in beautiful contrast with the sullen heathenism around, the living epistle and abiding fruit of that act of faith by which in distant Germany a devout Lutheran dedicated his first-born to the service of God. When, in 1798, Schwartz breathed his last, he could point

to hundreds of converts, to multitudes of peasants saved from oppression and starvation, to a higher tone of administration throughout the different departments of the Government, and respect won for the office of a missionary from the heathen rajahs, as well as from the poorest of their subjects. For some years before his death increasing infirmities had hindered him from taking the long journeys he had been wont to make, but he preached to the people as vigorously as ever, seated in a huge bamboo chair, which is now an honoured possession of the Ven. Archdeacon Robinson, himself the friend and chaplain of Heber.

William Carey, whom we have called a self-educated man, was born in 1761, in Northamptonshire; what little education he received was given to him by his father, who kept a school, but the teaching given in a village school more than a hundred years ago must have been very limited, and it is only the truth that he educated himself. He was an ardent student: he picked up Latin for himself, and after being apprenticed at the age of fourteen to a cobbler, he, by a laborious process, acquired a knowledge of the Greek Testament.

Coming under the notice of Scott, the Commentator, he joined the Baptist sect, and began to preach at the age of eighteen. Whether he was an indifferent shoemaker or whether his preaching tours interfered with his trade, we know not, but it is certain that he had difficulty in earning a maintenance, while an unhappy marriage and perpetual ill-health added to his anxieties. At the age of twenty-five he obtained the pastorship of a chapel, which was worth £16 per annum, and a school, which was a failure in his hands, continuing also to work at his trade. The geography lessons touched a chord in his heart; he knew little enough of the science, but he pasted up sheets of paper on the walls of his little shop, and the broad tracts of heathenism, compared

with the little spots which denoted the presence of Christianity, led him to brood over the subject and filled him with a longing to give himself to the work of evangelisation. The many difficulties that stood in his way we have not space to record; some seem in these days almost incredible. Proposing for a subject of consideration at a Ministers' Meeting, "The Duty of attempting to spread the Gospel among the Heathen," he was at once silenced and told that if God wished to convert the heathen, He could do it without human aid. The Calvinism both of his own sect and of the Scotch Kirk in those times declared missionary work "highly preposterous," and regarded missionaries themselves as rightly suspected by the Government. Succeeding after infinite pains in reaching Calcutta, only heavier misfortunes befell him. He struggled on alone till 1799, when he was joined by four other Baptist teachers, among whom was Marshman. These had no sooner landed than a panic arose at the mischief which they would do, and they were ordered to re-embark; but they found shelter in the Danish mission at Serampore, which was to become in time the centre from which many missions would emanate, while its light attracted labourers from other countries, and of other denominations, to undertake the work which this struggling handful of weakened, suffering men were trying to do. Printing, translating, keeping school, preaching in the streets, this little body laboured on, receiving no help from, but much suspected by, those in power. A change was at hand—Lord Wellesley had founded the college in Fort William, in which Europeans should be trained in native languages, and laws, and customs, in order to fit them for the Civil Service, and when all was provided except the teacher, the only qualified person to be found was the missionary cobbler who had acquired the Bengalee for the love of God. He was made, nay, asked to become the teacher

with a salary of £600 a-year, and the Government that had forbidden him to land, was now glad to secure his services and to consent to his continuing his missionary work as well. The salary thus earned kept the Serampore community free from anxiety on the score of money. Not without many fluctuations the trio of friends, Carey, Ward, and Marshman, struggled on until 1823, when Ward died of cholera; Carey died in 1834, in his seventy-third year, and Marshman followed in 1837, his latter days being clouded by the shock he received at the danger of his daughter, the wife of Lieutenant Havelock, who twenty years later was the best known and most honoured soldier in India. The Serampore Mission was then once more connected with the Baptist community. Carey had not lived in vain: he kindled the flame of missionary zeal in England as Xavier had done long before in India. From America and from England other spirits were drawn to the work; and among the latter was Henry Martyn.

It was the recital of Carey's life's story in the rooms of the Rev. Charles Simeon, that first suggested to Martyn the missionary career which he adopted: but it was as a chaplain, and not as a missionary, that he went to India. We have said in the previous paper that the evangelisation of India has not attracted men of such genius as did its conquest; but a comparison between Carey and Martyn leads us to qualify that remark, and to observe that often, where God gives that especial grace for missions which appears only once in a generation, it seems to be almost independent of school and university. The senior wrangler has left no mark worthy to be compared with the result of Carey's labours; it is true his abilities were hampered by a narrow and gloomy spirit, made morbid by incessant self-introspection and a dread of everything bright and cheerful. It was not likely that a mind so little able to sympathise

with others should attract or impress: the few who knew Martyn well, admired him and entertained for him a love not unmingled with awe; but to the majority he seemed ungenial and repellent. He left behind him the example of his devoted zeal—may we not add the warning of a cramped, unsympathising spirit? His translations were the works of an accurate and elegant scholar, and probably no other man could have done them so well. He died at the early age of thirty-one, a stranger in a strange land, with no European near to receive his last words or to support him in his last moments. Firmly and without flinching he bore the burden and heat of his brief day, and, doubtless, service so devoted has met with the only reward he could have desired. The contemplation of his career makes us regret that mere faults of temper and manner should have dwarfed capacities so great and so promising.

IV.

It has been already mentioned that when, in 1814, the Bishopric of Calcutta was established by letters patent, the concession thus made on the part of the Government was a grudging one, that the consecration took place in private, that the sermon was not printed but suppressed, and that the bishop was sent out to India almost as though the whole transaction were fraudulent. But it was a great step to get the episcopate at all: our missions—strange anomaly! were carried on by Lutheran pastors, and the system of the English Church was a scarcely-veiled Presbyterianism, without the discipline and organisation which Presbyterianism pure and simple would have enjoyed. The first bishop was an exceedingly happy selection: a profound scholar, a well-read divine, an experienced parish priest, taking a lively interest in those societies which the increased spiritual life of the mother country was bringing into existence, he surely was chosen for his onerous office by the great Head of the Church. The preparation which Bishop Middleton made for his five months' voyage in the "Warren Hastings," fitting up the stern cabin "with a library of more than a hundred works, Hebrew, Greek, Persian, Latin, French, English—theology, classics, mathematics, history, and poetry," contrasts strongly with the rapid transit of an Indian bishop now, who rushes through Europe and is installed in his cathedral within a month of his leaving England: the advantages are much in favour of the modern missionary,

and the same means which bring him so quickly to the field of his labours, enable him to get through much more work than was possible to his predecessors.

Bishop Middleton found enough to occupy a long episcopate in putting into order the existing Church machinery; and had he given no attention to missionary work among the heathen, he would have been open to no severe criticism. Scarcely a decent church was to be found; services were held in verandahs, in riding-schools, anywhere; many of the chaplains had no desire for episcopal rule, and persisted in regarding the Governor-General as their bishop. Moreover, he was thwarted at every turn by the unelastic tendency of the legislation adopted for the Church at home, and in no degree calculated for the Church when brought in contact with heathenism. Thus, when he wished to ordain some catechists who had been trained by Schwartz, the miserable doubt beset him whether the Act of Uniformity contemplated or allowed the service to be used in a language other than English; and whether the oath of supremacy, which, not being British subjects, they were unable to take, might be dispensed with. As though the burden were not enough already, the Government extended his letters patent in 1817 so as to include Ceylon; and in 1823 there was added the care "of all British subjects within the limits of the East India Company's Charter" (*i.e.*, all Asia), "and in islands north of the Equator, and all places between the Cape of Good Hope and Magellan's Straits;" and again, in 1824, "New South Wales and its dependencies,"—including, that is, New Zealand and Tasmania,—were added to the nominal (for it could only be the nominal) government of the Bishop of Calcutta.

But the far-seeing mind of Middleton at once was impressed with the fact that the only way to plant Christianity

in a heathen land is to train up patiently but boldly a ministry from among the converts who may be given to the missionary's toil. In 1820 he had the happiness of laying the foundation-stone of Bishop's College, near to the city of Calcutta; and he rightly regarded this as the probable nursery of a native clergy. Other subsidiary purposes the college was intended to serve, and these intentions have been realised: from its press translations of the Psalms and other works required for the missions have issued; within the college walls missionaries have ever received a welcome; it has afforded a high education to many youths, Native, Eurasian, and European; like the more modern Cathedral Mission College, which is the creation of the Church Missionary Society, it has sent many students to compete for degrees at the Calcutta University. This last work, it must be admitted, does not seem to fall within the scope of a missionary institution: the excellent schools planted everywhere throughout India now supersede the necessity which once existed for Christian teachers to impart secular learning only or even primarily; and it is a pity to divert their energies to work which does not fall within the scope of their proper duty.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in whose hands the management of Bishop's College is vested, has for years been endeavouring to utilise the foundation more thoroughly, while aiming perhaps at giving a less profound education. It seems only reasonable to think that by a careful selection of promising youths, who have given proof of their sincerity by working, in subordinate positions, in the various missions, a body of Christian teachers might be raised up within the walls of Bishop's College, who, retaining their simple habits of life and their native dress, might go back to their heathen friends in no degree demoralised by the adoption of western habits (which an Englishman

cannot safely lay aside), but strengthened by contact with more powerful intellects and impressed by the daily services and devotions of college life, and determined to communicate what they have themselves received. It must be confessed that hitherto Bishop Middleton's wishes have, in this one respect, not been realised.

Amid his many cares the good bishop found time to visit the whole of his diocese within the limits of India proper, *i.e.*, Bombay, Ceylon, and Madras, a work of infinitely greater toil in those days than now; but in 1822 he succumbed, utterly worn out by anxiety and toil.

Reginald Heber, the second bishop, is perhaps the best known of all the band of missionaries that England has sent out. It was not so common an occurrence then (indeed, the opportunity was not given), as it has been since, for men of high attainments and gentle birth and brilliant prospects to accept the labours of the colonial episcopate, often on an income which a successful tradesman would despise.

Heber found the advantage of entering into the labours of such a man as Middleton; the laws which had been supposed to forbid the ordination of foreigners had been relaxed, and he had the privilege of admitting the first native to the ministry of the Church. A visitation of his diocese occupied him for considerably more than a year. For ten months he was separated from his wife, who joined him at Surat, and went with him to Bombay and Ceylon; and in 1826, within three years of his consecration, he died while ministering, to his own great delight, to the converts whom Schwartz had made in Trichinopoly.

The brief episcopates of Bishops James and Turner were followed by the lengthened labours of Bishop Wilson, whose vigorous administration made itself felt for twenty-six years. At the age of fifty-four he was ready and willing to fill the

gap in which four bishops, all younger than himself, had died within nine years. He was the first bishop to visit Penang and Burmah, in which last country he saw a good deal of Judson and the American Mission; and he waged a desperate and unflinching war with the question of caste, which, itself contrary to the equality of the Gospel, afforded an opportunity, and even an inducement to converts to revert to their heathenism, whereas, when once it was broken, the Rubicon was irrevocably crossed.

In 1835 he had the happiness of seeing the Madras Presidency formed into a bishopric, and two years later the Diocese of Bombay was constituted: the two first bishops of these new sees were his own trusted and well-loved friends. In 1847 he consecrated the Cathedral of Calcutta, to which he had himself contributed £20,000; the non-Indian portions of his diocese had been divided and sub-divided into separate sees; he had visited Borneo, and there consecrated the church built by Sir J. Brooke at Sarāwak; and in 1856 he, together with the Bishops of Madras and Victoria, consecrated to the missionary see of Labuan that noble pioneer of the Gospel, Bishop McDougall, the first bishop in Anglican Orders consecrated beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

The old prelate's last days were days of national sorrow and humiliation. His last sermon was preached on July 24th, 1857, the day appointed by himself (but ignored by the civil officials) as a day of fasting under the calamitous mutiny. Slaughter seemed at the gates; Sir Henry Lawrence was dead; what might be the tidings from Cawnpore and Lucknow no one knew, nor cared to ask; but the old man's natural force was in no degree abated. He consoled and cheered, he prayed and guided, and at the same time declared that the present troubles were punishments for the timid and unchristian policy of the Govern-

ment and the vicious and irreligious lives of too many of the people.

The bishop who succeeded Bishop Wilson had not only to take up the vast amount of work which that active brain had originated: the time at which he entered on his work was altogether unprecedented; the mutiny was quelled, but the country was not yet pacified; the rumblings of the strife were still to be heard in the north-west; the country had to be settled, the disaffected curbed, the conquered encouraged to subordination; the missions had to be re-established, in some instances to be built up again from the foundations which were red with the blood of pastors and catechists who had been murdered at their posts. It was a wise choice that selected for a position of such unparalleled difficulty George Edward Lynch Cotton. He never sought the high office of Metropolitan of India: he was called to it, and, so far as his own inclination went, he shrank from it unfeignedly, and on the morning of his consecration he spoke of the office that was to be entrusted to him as "a burthen," the laying down of which he could leave "cheerfully and confidently in God's hands." His intellectual powers were just those which fit a man to cope with the subtle oriental mind, and his calmness of judgment and unvarying sense of what was equitable led him always to accord to an opponent's position a careful and painstaking consideration. With the work of missions, while he lived at home, he had never shown any warm sympathy, but on this and many other subjects his views underwent a great change. Year after year he learned more and more, and as he learned, he had the manliness to declare what he had learned; indeed, with him to do so was not manliness, which perhaps implies an effort—it was the simple result of the sense of justice inherent in his mind. Thus he wrote from Benares in 1862: "When I see all these missionaries and their wives at work, wholly given up to the

endeavours to promote the highest welfare of these Hindus, I feel that here is one great branch of the true evidence to the reality of Christianity, and of many of its doctrines. The other branch is the New Testament itself, ... and against these proofs F. Newman and Theodore Parker and Comte thunder in vain." Again, in 1864, he wrote from Tinnevelly to his successor at Marlborough, "We have just finished a fortnight's most interesting visitation of the Tinnevelly Missions. I assure you that I have been deeply impressed with the reality and thorough-going character of the whole business, and I entreat you never to believe any insinuations against missionary work in India, or to scruple to plead, or allow to be pleaded, the cause of the S. P. G. or the C. M. S."

So with regard to the Baptismal Service and the Athanasian Creed, the bishop was careful to publish in his famous charge of 1863, that he had learned much by coming to India. On the latter topic he wrote:—

"The errors rebuked in the Athanasian Creed resulted from tendencies common to the human mind everywhere, and especially prevalent in this country. . . . . It contains no theory of the Divine Nature, but contradicts false opinions about it, and states the revealed truths of the Trinity and the Incarnation without any attempt to explain them. It especially censures four errors: the heresy of Arius, . . . of Sabellius, . . . of Nestorius, . . . of Appollinarius. Now these four tendencies correspond to four forms of error which are in full activity among us here. . . . Now, if we remember that all these heresies sprang from tendencies which have given birth to separate religions of widely-extended influence, in the midst of which we in India are living, we may surely pause before we expunge from the records of our Church an ancient protest against the application of these tendencies to Christianity, since whenever the

educated classes of this country generally embrace the Gospel, there will be need of watchfulness, lest its simplicity be perverted by the revival of errors which all had their origin in Eastern philosophy."

The activity of Bishop Cotton continued unabated, while year by year, as his views enlarged and his experience of his work was deepened, his energy was more and more fruitful of results. Every cold season was devoted to the labour of visitation, and the fact that the diocese (which had again become, by the addition of new territories, as large as the original diocese administered by Middleton and Heber) could only be visited once in four years, induced him to repeat the petition which had been made by Bishop Wilson for a sub-division. Lahore and Rangoon were the two towns which ought, in his opinion, to have been at once made the seats of bishops.

The affairs of the Calcutta University received from him much attention, and he delighted in receiving at the Palace educated Hindus for discussions on controverted questions, theological or otherwise. But the great work which specially interested him, and which, indeed, was his own creation, was the education of Anglo-Indian youth, of the middle as well as of the poorer classes. It was the link between his old life and his new, and he entered on it with eagerness. The condition of India had been changing rapidly: it had become like an ordinary colony. Instead of the English population consisting chiefly of civil and military servants of the Crown, railways, public works, telegraphs, and the like, had brought out a large population belonging to a lower social stratum; these could not afford to send their children to England for education, and if they kept them in the plains, they would not only droop and wither under the scorching climate, but would be demoralised by contact with native heathen servants. The bishop's idea was to erect schools for these

in the Himalayas, and he claimed help for their endowment as a duty on the part of Englishmen who had reaped the benefit of such endowments in public schools at home. Through the Additional Clergy Society he also managed to provide the ministrations of the Church for the increasing class of Eurasians and Europeans who came under the care neither of chaplains nor of missionaries, and the future native Church with its indigenous ministry was never lost sight of by him. He looked forward to the time when foreign Theodores and Augustines would be succeeded by Indian Stigands and Lanfrancs; and in the hands of intellectual Orientals, built up in sound learning, he thought the "daily disputing" in the bazaars or under the trees would prove a more potent instrument of conversion than when carried on by Europeans.

In August, 1866, the bishop left Calcutta for Assam, to visit the tea planters, who were living pretty much cut off from religious privileges, and the missions of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in that province. On October 3, when the tour was nearly ended, and some of the party had already returned to Calcutta by train, the bishop halted at Kooshtea and consecrated the cemetery, telling his hearers that such consecrations were "for the benefit of the living, not of the dead; that departed souls suffered no injury, if their bodies were left in a desert place or on a field of battle, or in any other way were unable to obtain the rites of burial." In the deepening gloom of the coming night he turned his steps to his vessel, which he was destined never to reach. In crossing the plank he must have slipped: a splash was heard and he was seen no more. The efforts made at first to rescue him from death, and afterwards to recover his dead body, were alike in vain. The rapid current of the Indian river swept over him, and his labours were ended!

V.

When Bishop Milman sailed for Calcutta, in February, 1867, a fortnight after his consecration, he found the diocese in a better state of organisation than any of his predecessors had received it. Middleton and Heber had to reduce chaos to order, and the effects of Bishop Wilson's rule had been temporarily destroyed by the mutiny: but the eight years of Bishop Cotton's statesmanlike administration had not only restored but had also extended the organisation which had once existed, and many new fields of work had been opened. As this paper will deal with the Presidency of Bengal, the present seems to be a convenient time to take a survey of the missions of that district from the beginning, and to glance at their present conditions and prospects. The Church Missionary Society began their missions in Calcutta in 1815, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1818. It had been part of Bishop Middleton's far-seeing plans to establish gradually good vernacular schools within reach of as many of the native population as possible. Three circles of missionary schools were formed by the latter society in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta,—viz., Tollygunge, Howrah, and Cossipore. Howrah, which is the Wapping of Calcutta, has not progressed as well as the other two circles. In the marshy, malarious districts of the Sunderbunds, with a climate that may well be called deadly, missionaries have laboured and lived and died, and the results of their labours are now abundant.

The Mission of Tollygunge is for ever connected with the name of Charles Driberg, who, as the senior missionary, has been almost the bishop of a large circle of missions. When Bishop Heber visited Ceylon he stayed with a Captain Driberg, of the Ceylon Rifles, and was struck by the intelligence of his two sons, who ultimately came to Bishop's College, where they were under the Principal, Dr. Mill, the future Christian Advocate of Cambridge. For thirty-seven years Charles Driberg was an ordained missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He was in the very first rank as a Bengali scholar and preacher: offers of preferment in England, or of service under the Indian Government, he more than once or twice refused: his whole heart was in his mission; and on Easter Day, when, according to custom, the Christians from the daughter missions communicated at the Mother Church at Tollygunge, he had the happiness year by year of feeding hundreds of his spiritual children with the bread of life. In 1871 this experienced missionary died at his post, and in the midst of daily extending work.

In Calcutta itself, and in its neighbourhood, both the societies of the English Church are represented: the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel possesses the educational establishment known as Bishop's College, on the opposite side of the River Hooghley, and the Church Missionary Society has its own college in Calcutta, which offers an education of a high class. The Church Missionary Society alone represents the Church of England in the Punjab and Cashmir, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel seems to have appropriated Burmah and Assam as its own sphere; it has also recently adopted the German Mission at Chota Nagpore.

In the year 1833 this society established a mission at Cawnpore, some 750 miles N.W. from Calcutta. It was already sacred ground: here Henry Martyn had laboured, and had

built a church, which, however, was no longer standing: here Corrie, eminent amongst the chaplains of the East India Company for his missionary zeal, had gathered together a handful of converts: it was destined yet to receive a sublimer consecration by the death of Christian witnesses. The missionaries established schools, and by using the cold season for preaching tours managed to make their influence felt over a large area. Some twenty years later the mission was established at Delhi. The way had been prepared by a devout chaplain, the Rev. M. Jennings. Delhi was rich in historic association to the Hindu and to the Mahometan: to the former it recalled the glorious era, so distant as to be almost mythical, when the Hindu rulers were the type of chivalry, and had not known defeat; to the latter it was the capital of the Great Mogul, whose splendour many living Mussulmans had seen and shared: even to the English its imperial magnificence was a goodly sight, but to Mr. Jennings, and a few pious souls who met in his house for worship, the daily spectacle of 150,000 people given up to idolatry or to fanatical Mahometanism, and some few among them groping after the truth, touched their hearts, and they resolved to collect money with which a mission might be founded and maintained in this ancient capital. The first fruits Mr. Jennings reaped himself. In 1852, Chimmum Lall, the surgeon of the station, and Lala Ram Chandra, were publicly baptized after the second lesson at Evening Service. The event caused the greatest excitement among the heathen, who crowded into the church and behaved with much decorum, and the Christians offered prayers for them, both publicly in church and in private, on the Friday and Saturday previous: many, too, communicated on the Sunday morning, whose hearts were full of the coming event. Dr. Lall died a martyr's death in 1857. Lala Ram Chandra is still alive, and had a long interview with Bishop

Cotton when he visited Delhi in 1859; the Bishop wrote of him:—

"To-day Ram Chandra called, the native Christian, who narrowly escaped death during the mutiny, but is now established as the master of the Government School here, and is the spiritual father of Tara Chand" (a missionary now at Delhi) "and other converts. He is an able mathematician, and his book on Maxima and Minima has been published with a preface by De Morgan."

In 1854 the mission was launched; two clergymen, the Rev. J. Stuart Jackson, a Fellow, and A. R. Hubbard, a Member of Caius College, Cambridge, came out from England, and took up the work which had been prepared for them. The future Bishop of the Zambesi, Charles Frederic Mackenzie, was a Fellow of Caius, and was asked by Mr. Jackson to find him colleagues: he felt that he could not urge others to go while he remained at home, and he volunteered himself for the Delhi Mission; but the remonstrances of friends, who told him his duty was to remain at Cambridge and carry on the many good works which his influence had enabled him to start, detained him for awhile in this country. The missionaries laboured for three years, established a good school, and got together a little Christian congregation, and at the end of that time Mr. Jackson was ordered to England on medical certificate. Suddenly the Indian mutiny broke out: warning there was none—the Government officials were as unprepared as were the missionaries; the whole of the North West Provinces were in terror and consternation. At Agra and Lahore the English and the native Christians found shelter within the walls; the missions at Cawnpore and at Delhi were utterly extinguished. At the former place, Messrs. Haycock and Cockey were massacred; at Delhi, the chaplain, Mr. Jennings, the real founder of the mission, his

daughter, and Captain Douglas, a warm supporter of it, were among the first victims; Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Sandys, a catechist, Mr. Mackay, a Baptist catechist, Mrs. Thompson, and her two daughters, who belonged to the Baptist Mission, were also killed. Ram Chandra escaped, but Dr. Chimmum Lall, and a Baptist Christian converted from Mahometanism were seized by the mutineers. They were offered life and liberty as the price of forsaking their Christian profession, but they wavered not for a moment, and the crown of martyrdom was won by them. Mr. Macallum, of the Additional Clergy Society, was killed at Shahjehanpore, four missionaries of the American Presbyterian Mission perished with their families at Futteyguhr, and two members of the same mission were killed at Sealcote.

Before the mutiny was quelled, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel invited volunteers for Delhi, and the Rev. T. Skelton, a Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, re-founded the mission in 1859. About the same time the Cawnpore Mission was built up from the desolation in which it had been buried. At the latter place, Christ Church, the Government church was restored, having been gutted by the mutineers, and handed over to the society as a Memorial Church. A large orphanage for boys and girls, with church and school-house, has also been provided at Asrapur, a suburb of Cawnpore. Bishop Cotton laid the first stone of the Memorial Church, dedicated to St. Stephen, at Delhi, in 1865. The church is strictly a Missionary Church. The services, which are all in Hindustani, are held twice daily: the Christian boys from St. Stephen's College form the surpliced choir: the lights at the evening services attract the heathen, who remain quietly in the capacious porch and listen to the service in their own tongue. The Church Missionary Society has built a similar church near the principal gate of the great Sikh city of Amritsir, where the

heathen form a great part of the congregation. The Delhi Mission has recently lost the services of the Rev. J. H. Crowfoot, Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, whose great erudition well qualified him for the work. He found his help readily sought for by young natives who were studying for the Calcutta University the books which he had himself studied at Oxford,—Mill, Sir W. Hamilton, and the like. The Rev. R. R. Winter, the senior missionary, has now been at Delhi some thirteen years, and under his care, and that of the Rev. Tara Chand, a native, who was converted by Ram Chandra, and ordained by Bishop Cotton, work of various kinds has been carried on: the educated classes are visited, and questions are discussed freely; preaching tours are made through the neighbouring districts in the cold season; an excellent Christian education is given in St. Stephen's College, and a Zenana mission of much promise has been commenced on a large scale.

Prominence has been given to these two missions because they acquired a painful notoriety from the fate which befel them, alone of our Church missions, in the mutiny. The Church Missionary Society occupies Agra, Lucknow, Lahore, and other stations extending to Cashmir. At the latter place it has started a medical mission, now suspended, which Bishop Cotton thought was "the only gate which has any chance of being opened." The difficulties which Cashmir presents are infinite. A Hindu ruler governs a population wholly Mahometan; and so great is his jealousy of our power, that no European is allowed to winter in his territory, and all our doings are suspected. At Agra the Church Missionary Society has excellent mission schools, and at Lahore a theological college, which has the advantage of the learning and piety of the Rev. T. V. French, Fellow of University College, Oxford.

In the Central Provinces the Church Missionary Society

has missions to the Sonthals, and the Bishop of Calcutta has long contemplated a mission to the Khonds, two of the aboriginal tribes who have never been subdued by the Brahminical invaders. Their religious rites and doctrines vary in almost every district; and as they have no organised priesthood, and their legends and hymns are preserved only by oral tradition, it is almost impossible to collect and to reduce to system materials so scattered and indefinite.

In Chota Nagpore, which forms part of the Central Indian plateau, there is a very large population of Kôls, among whom in their different tribes extensive missionary work has been carried on for nearly thirty years. Simple and hardy, very merry and very dirty, with no caste to minister to their pride, and no very elaborate superstition to depress them, these people have been doing the hard work of India for generations, just as the Chinese are now doing in California and in Queensland, so that they have been called the "Navvies of India." In 1844 Pastor Gossner sent out from Berlin four Lutheran missionaries to Calcutta: the scene of their future work was not settled; they waited for some providential guidance. Among the Coolies engaged in repairing the roads they saw some men of peculiar appearance. They found they were Kôls (pigs) from Chota Nagpore, and that they belonged to a people among whom no missionaries had ever laboured; they therefore determined to establish themselves at Ranchi, the civil station of the district, and they reached that place in March, 1848. For five years, with true German patience, and equally true Christian faith, these brethren lived on scanty pittances, exposed to much persecution, and not a single convert had they made. In 1850 four Kôls presented themselves. They had read portions of the New Testament in Hindi, and, in the words of the inquirers of old, desired that they might "see Jesus." They could not

be persuaded that He was no longer visible, and they went away abusing the missionaries. In a week's time they returned with the same request, declaring that they would never rest until they had seen Him. By the missionaries' efforts they *did* see Him with the eye of faith, and were soon after baptized. In the next seventeen years the mission extended rapidly, and there were more than 10,000 converts. Bishop Cotton was much refreshed by his visit to this "peasant Church," as he called it, in 1864, and declared that the mission was one of the three great successes in India. Meanwhile, the funds which had been supplied from Germany failed, and there were internal dissensions between the older missionaries and fresh-comers from Europe. The Rev. F. Batsch, who had all along been the main support and leader, shared the wish of the founder, Gossner, that the mission should be joined to the English Church, and in 1869 the European residents at Chota Nagpore joined with Mr. Batsch and his colleagues in a petition to Bishop Milman that he would adopt it. After due investigation, the bishop returned to Chota Nagpore, and received seven thousand Kôl Christians into the Church of England, and ordained the Rev. F. Batsch, H. Batsch, H. Bohn, and a native catechist, Wilhelm Luther. The German clergy wished to have an English brother at their head, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, having adopted the mission, invited the Rev. J. C. Whitley to move from Delhi. The work is very onerous, involving much itineration. Churches have had to be built, and more are needed; but there has been no abatement of the promise of success which surrounded the mission when it was adopted by the bishop.

The evangelisation of India is attempted by many bodies of Christians. The Church of Rome has its almost countless missionaries at work. Presbyterian Societies, Scotch and

Irish, the United Presbyterians, the Free Kirk, the Wesleyans, the Welsh Wesleyans, the London Missionary Society, the Basle and other German missions, the American Baptists, and other minor societies, share the work with the English Church. In our own missions there are now in the diocese of Calcutta nearly one hundred ordained missionaries actually at work, of whom twenty are natives, and the number of baptized converts under the care of these missionaries exceeds 20,000. No doubt the variety of the agencies at work is an evil. All diversities of creeds, inasmuch as they represent division where we desire to find union, are and must be so; and the evil is increased when, as is sometimes the case, missionaries divert their energies from their proper work and proselytise from other bodies. But the supposed hindrances which they put in the way of missionary progress are very much exaggerated.

The advanced education, by which the latest civilisation of the West has been brought to bear on the acute intellects of the East, has been specially the contribution of Scotland. In Bombay Dr. John Wilson, and in Bengal Dr. Duff, have been more than conspicuous in this department. That a belief in Hindu superstitions can long survive the reception of a liberal education, is simply impossible, and it is the fact that the attitude of "young Bengal" toward their ancestral religion is altogether changed. Here and there an inquiring spirit is led to accept Christianity. The most striking result is the Brahmoistic movement which is spreading among the educated Hindus, the apostle of which has recently been in England. Its founder, Ramahoun Roy, and his followers, began by attacking some parts of Christianity, and, rejecting the later Puranas, took their stand on the Vedas. Criticism showed that these did not contain the whole truth, and Ramahoun Roy took refuge in a philosophical Unitarianism, and his followers, some avowedly,

others in their hearts, became adherents of some one or other of the various missions.

The more recent development in the Brahmo Somaj has been brought into notice by the visit of its leader, Keshub Chunder Sen, to England. His practical, although not avowed, alliance with Unitarianism showed the tendency of his mind. He came to England not as a learner, but as a critic. Our divisions were paraded before him, and almost gloried in, as though beneath and among them all was the religion which he loved; but, while thoroughly eclectic, and admitting that some truth was found in all, he was not enamoured of a creed flimsy and incapable of definition, and so far from disregarding external divisions for the sake of the truth which they had in common, he earnestly begged that our divisions might not be given to India. And yet he did not see that he was but proposing still another division, and the creed which he propounds is the haziest possible: a religion of morality and of humanity, built up on a sentimental admiration for our Lord's human character, will never long retain the enthusiasm of its adherents; and this is all that he had to offer—a religion without distinctive creeds, without theological standards, that paid no attention to the learning of the past, but cared only for the advancement and happiness of the present.

When the laws of gravitation cease to have power, and a cone will stand upon its apex, then perhaps, but not before, a system which borrows from Christianity its forms, and claims to rival its powers of spiritual elevation, but which excludes the confession of an incarnate Saviour and Mediator, will satisfy the cravings of a sin-laden soul. That those who have groped their way out of Pantheistic or Deistic mazes to a knowledge of the Fatherhood of God have taken an upward step, none can doubt. Whether the Brahmoists are more accessible to the Chris-

tian missionary is another matter altogether. Experience shows us that affinities do not always lead to union—*e.g.*, the Mahometans are more bitter opponents of Christianity than the heathen.

Weighty and true were the words which St. Augustine spoke from his own experience, "O Lord, Thou madest us for Thyself, and our heart is restless till it find rest in Thee."

VI.

It was within the limits of the future Diocese of Madras that the East India Company first established themselves in 1620; for sixty years there was no church of any kind, nor any visible token that the English settlers had any religion at all. The Romanists occupied the field at a very early period of the missionary history of this presidency, and their adherents are at the present time largely in excess of the converts made by other bodies. The Jesuit fathers who were stationed at Madura, extended their labours in the last century over a very wide area, and the missions that they formed were afterwards directed by the authorities who had their headquarters at Goa, on the western coast. The first mission not connected with the Church of Rome was founded at Tranquebar in 1705, by Ziegenbalg. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge established the first mission of the English Church in Madras in 1726; and the noble work afterwards done by Schwartz and his companions in Southern India has already been alluded to. But the missionaries were all Germans and in Lutheran orders; and so dead was the missionary spirit both in the English Church and among Nonconformists, that the former would seem never to have contemplated the work being taken up by ordained ministers; and the case of Carey has already shown us that missions found no favour with the Baptist body, to which he belonged.

Never was the need of the episcopate more plainly declared. Schwartz, Kohlhoff, and their companions, had been

giants among missionaries; but it was only the struggling of single souls and the fighting of single swords: the episcopate alone could give continuity to the work, and so, when Schwartz died, and Kohlhoff became weakened by age, the successes which they had obtained, not being followed up by younger men, their converts were scattered. In 1787 there had been more than 17,000 Christians in the Tranquebar district alone. In 1814 the Church Missionary Society commenced its missions in Madras itself; and in 1824, when the twelve older missions of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge were transferred to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, there were only five missionaries nominally engaged in the work, and of these only three were present at their stations, so disastrous had been the quarter of a century of apathy and neglect. Since that time the two Church societies have covered the presidency with a network of missions, the success of which will certainly compare favourably with the results of similar efforts in any age or in any land. The stations of the two societies often join and interlace each other, and no such division of the diocese exists as has been shown to be the case in the distribution of the missionaries in the Diocese of Calcutta.

Tracing the missions from Cape Comorin in a northward direction, we have before us, first, the two districts of Tinnevelly and Travancore, so identified with missionary successes as to have been erroneously regarded as co-extensive with the whole field of our Madras missions. The province of Tinnevelly is about 120 miles from S. to N., with an average breadth from E. to W. of 60 miles. Between it and Travancore, which forms the western side of the extreme Indian peninsula, there is a lofty range of mountains, which offers a grateful sanatorium to Europeans, when prostrated by long residence in the sandy plains. The population of

Tinnevelly may be taken at 1,500,000, the majority of whom are Shanars. The population of Travancore is not quite so large. The Shanars are Hindus; and although not of Brahminical origin, the system of caste prevails among them; their hereditary occupation is the cultivation and the climbing the palmyra-tree; by Hindu usage this business is restricted to one caste, while all are free to engage in trade or in agriculture. They appear to have immigrated, from time to time, from the northern coast of Ceylon, the inhabitants of that portion of the island still bearing very close resemblance to them in many ways: they speak the Tamul language, and the majority of them seem to be content to devote themselves to the hard labour at which their ancestors wrought, although some of the more enterprising have taken to trade and farming.

The religion which they profess is pure and simple devil-worship; the notions which they have of God are connected with attributes of goodness; for Him therefore, having no fear, they have no adoration: but nothing befalls them without the intervention of evil spirits. It is among a people so sunk in superstition that the Gospel has found its most numerous converts. There is nothing in the history of missions which eclipses the marvellous progress of the Gospel in Tinnevelly. It would be easy to illustrate this by many facts. When Dr. Caldwell went first to Edeyengoody (which means "The home of the shepherd"), he found among the inhabitants of six villages, which forty years before had embraced the Gospel, only one man who had remained steadfast. Three years later missions were opened at Christianagram and Sawyerpuram, and it may be said that the whole district is now under direct Christian teaching. In the Tinnevelly group of missions connected with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, there are now 195 villages, with four Euro-

pean and sixteen native clergy, 216 lay agents, 23,000 baptized members, and nearly 6,000 communicants. In this district Dr. Caldwell is, so far as a priest can discharge the episcopal office, the practical overseer and guide; the work has been the work of his life, and he now sees the fruit of his patient labours.

The missions at Sawyerpuram, Nazareth, and Christianagram were for many years under the guidance of a remarkable man, Thomas Brotherton. A graduate of Cambridge, Mr. Brotherton laboured for thirty-three years in Southern India, and, following the example of Schwartz, he led a far more ascetic life than Europeans can generally lead with safety in India. Even to the heathen his simplicity of character and innate goodness seemed so unusual that they were wont to say that "he was not a man of this age of the world." Not less successful have been the labours of the Church Missionary Society clergy, both in Tinnevelly and in Travancore. In the latter province the ancient Malabar Church exists, and the relations between the members of that venerable Church and the more highly educated Western Christians, who find themselves in such proximity to them, demand the exercise of true and undeviating charity and courtesy.

The success which has been vouchsafed to these missions in the extreme south of India must not engross our attention to the exclusion of those which exist in other parts of the presidency. They reach as far northward as Secunderabad, 400 miles from the city of Madras, and westward to Bangalore, some 200 miles distant; and in the Telugu country both societies have extensive missions. But it is not of the number of mission stations that the Church of England may glory so much as of the men who are now, in the providence of God, directing them. Bishop Middleton foresaw from the very beginning of his episcopate that the

great end to be desired for India was a native ministry; that until that point was attained Christianity must be a foreign institution; and with this view he founded Bishop's College. Bishop Cotton repeated many times his own convictions, which were identical with those of his predecessor. It may now be said, without any exaggeration, that the problem has been solved by very humble machinery, and within a very recent period.

It has been declared that if the Sepoys had been successful in carrying out their threat, and had swept the hated English into the sea, we should have left no proofs behind us that the country had been occupied for more than two centuries by a Christian people. The Portuguese churches remain to this day, witnesses that those people were not ashamed of the religion which they professed; to the Dutch equal credit attaches; but for ourselves, it must be confessed that the number of churches and native pastors would have been miserably insignificant fifteen years ago. But now the case is altered. Churches, substantial and of a character worthy of their use and of their builders, stand here and there throughout India as tokens of our faith; in Delhi and Cawnpore they are memorials of our brethren who were not ashamed of their Lord, and who died the martyr's death; in our rural mission stations they are humbler structures of sun-dried brick and thatch: but better than all material temples is the spiritual temple, which years of patient labour have built up. If the English armies were to retire from India to-morrow, there would be left behind the undying witness of the efforts of the English Church, in the Christian congregations which she has gathered in from the heathen, and taught and nurtured in the Catholic verities of the Gospel. Not only are there more than 70,000 members of her communion in the Diocese of Madras alone, but they are ministered to by seventy-six clergymen of their own

race, who speak their own language, and who can enter into their feelings, and even into their prejudices, as only natives can. These clergy have undergone a long training and probation. They are in almost all cases the children of Christian parents, and have been educated in the vernacular schools which are to be found in all the missions. Having given promise as children, they have been employed, on the completion of their education, as teachers in the mission schools, and those who have approved themselves in that capacity have undergone a fuller training for the post of schoolmaster or catechist. After a still further probation, the most eligible, who appear to have a vocation for still higher service, are sent to a theological college, from whence, after diligent and personal instruction, they either go forth again as catechists or are presented to the bishop for ordination, and are sent to be curates to the English missionaries. During their three years' training at the seminary, great care is taken lest they should become "Anglicised" in habits; they therefore wear their native dress, and provide themselves with food, as they would do in their own homes; so that on their becoming pastors, they require no larger sum for their maintenance than their native brethren would earn in secular life: £60 per annum is the maximum income of a native pastor, and of this the larger portion in many cases, in some cases the whole, is provided by the native Christians.

There needs but the native episcopate to complete the perfect organisation of the Church of South India. The accomplishment of this has been hindered by many difficulties; to have two bishops in the same area would be a defiance of canonical order; to have a native suffragan, who should preside over the native congregations, but have nothing to do with the European congregations, would be to perpetuate in its most offensive form that system of caste, which is contrary to the first principles of the Gospel, and the power of

which, so far from being extinct, has given some trouble to the missionaries, even within the last year. It seems but reasonable that when a Church has for years given its sons to the work of the ministry, not only without evil results, but with every sign that their ministry has been both powerful and acceptable, that same Church should be trusted to wield the higher graces of the episcopate without regard to race or colour. If their English brethren deny to them so just a concession, they will convict themselves of being upholders of the unchristian system the power of which they have endeavoured to destroy in the missions.

The native Christians show great zeal in bringing their heathen friends to share their privileges. They have been well trained in this from the beginning. In 1858 Dr. Caldwell called together his native flock at Edeyengoody and formed a native missionary association for spreading the Gospel west of the River Nattar. Out of their poverty they employed three schoolmaster-catechists, two schoolmasters, and three itinerating catechists. The work extended into the district of Radhapuram, twenty miles long by twelve broad, and in seven years the missionary association ceased to exist because its object was attained, and the country for whose conversion it had been formed had become a new centre of missionary work.

The sight which a native congregation presents is very striking, as they retain the attitude of devotion common to their heathen brethren, and prostrate themselves, their knees, foreheads, and hands touching the ground. There is one mistake which our missionaries frequently make, which does much to repel the heathen from Christian worship: they persist in reading the prayers instead of reciting them with musical intonation; reading is essentially artificial; the natural way in which petitions are made is that which is known to us as intoning; the beggar in the street, the child

when reciting its simple prayers, both intone their petitions: Jews, Brahmins, Mahometans, Buddhists, the Indians of North America, all chant their prayers. Bishop Heber found a whole nation, the Bheels, who did so. On the authority of Mr. Layard, the Nestorians in Kurdistan are said to observe this custom. Captain Cook found it among the South Sea Islanders. Bishop Selwyn stated that the New Zealanders, when they became Christian, said their prayers in a low monotone, which sounded like the swell of a distant surf. Dr. Wolff, when taken prisoner by some people whose bearing was very threatening, hit on the expedient of chanting; they understood not a word that he said, but they recognised the musical recitation as connected with prayer, and said, "Lo! here is a man of God;" and one of our own missionaries at Canandagoody reported, many years ago, that he could not get the people to attend when he was "reading prayers." He tried the experiment of chanting, and they not only ceased their listlessness, but after service expressed their delight.

In this diocese many of the missionaries combine with their spiritual functions the practice of medicine. It will be remembered that Bishop Cotton stated that in his opinion the medical mission of the Church Missionary Society at Cashmir was "the only door that has any chance of being opened." In the missions of that Society several of the *native* clergy are qualified to practice in medicine. At Sawyerpuram, the missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Rev. Dr. Strachan, who acquired a love of medical science while at St. Augustine's College at Canterbury, employed the furlough in Europe which ten years' work in India had secured for him, in walking the hospital at Edinburgh, where he obtained the highest honour of his year. Such a power over the afflicted bodies of men has necessarily a great influence on their hearts;

and at Sawyerpuram not only has Dr. Strachan's house been besieged by suffering applicants for his aid: the acquaintance thus made with the heathen, who have come from all parts, has commended to them the arguments of the Christian teacher, whose good offices they had previously experienced; and the Government authorities have recognised the services of Dr. Strachan by making a grant in aid of his dispensary.

The story of the missions in Madras would be incomplete if no further mention were made of the great educational machinery which forms so prominent a part of the missionaries' work. Especially important are the girls' schools, both because in their heathen state Hindus grudge education to their daughters, and in view of the necessity of the next generation having the training of Christian mothers. Many hundreds of children are now being trained in Christian and housewifely habits in our boarding-schools; and a simple custom exists by which a scholar is supported by the offerings of some one parish or school at home. The protégé is perhaps baptized by a name chosen by its supporters, and, in acknowledgment of the small sum, generally £4 per annum, remitted for its support, the donors hear from time to time of its progress, both moral and spiritual. It is bonds such as these which realise for us the truth that we are all one in Christ Jesus. Another noteworthy fact is, that the civilising influence of the missionaries and the benefits of their teaching are now appreciated by the Hindu Rajas and Zemindars (yeomen), who, although remaining heathen, yet subscribe at times, with truly Eastern munificence, to schools or to endowment funds for catechists and pastors.

Such, then, is briefly the story of the evangelisation of Southern India: the Diocese of Madras far outstrips the older Diocese of Calcutta, both in the number of converts,

and still more of native clergy. In explanation, it must be mentioned that the Shanars are a race far inferior in point of intelligence and social status to the Brahmins of Bengal; that the former are a people who, for many many generations, have borne the burden of the oppression of their superiors and of hard toil, while the latter, for perhaps a greater length of time, have been born to rule. This must be remembered in *explanation* of the fact, but not in depreciation of those who have chosen the better part: the course which the Gospel is running in Southern India is but in strict analogy with the events which marked the conversion of the Roman Empire. The slaves, the down-trodden, the poor, saw in a religion which proclaimed the spiritual liberty, equality, and brotherhood of all its adherents, the visible realisation of that on which their thoughts had dwelt as on an almost impossible future: the leaven worked upward. So may it be in India: the Christian may be allowed to indulge in a dream—rather in a firm belief—that the time will come when the leaven shall work upwards from Shanar, and Pariah, and Sudra, and downwards from Brahmin and Kshattrya, and the whole mass shall be leavened with the Gospel, and all shall see and know that there is neither bond nor free, but that all are one in Christ.

VII.

For some reason, difficult to explain, the Diocese of Bombay has received less of the care of the mother Church than the missions of the other Indian dioceses. It seems strange that this should have been so. Bombay itself is the nearest to England of the three presidency cities, and from the time when it was made over, a small and unhealthy island, to the English Crown, as the dowry of the bride of Charles II., it has grown to be the second commercial city in the world. London alone surpasses it in importance; and the rapidity with which it has risen to its present station is without parallel, except in the instance of Chicago. Its trade connects it not only with the nations of Europe, but with Zanzibar and the little-known eastern coast of Africa. It would seem that its commercial importance must go on increasing as Indian railways are multiplied and converge on its harbour: it will then become more exclusively than ever the great western port of Hindustan.

The Church Missionary Society, which commenced its Bombay Mission in 1820, has fifteen missionaries at work, of whom four are natives. They have eight stations, which cover a large area; but the work has not made such progress as in the other dioceses. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has bestowed still less care on Bombay. It established a mission at Ahmedabad in 1830, which was soon discontinued, the solitary clergyman who had founded

it dying before he had made much impression. In 1842 the same mission was again attempted, but it was starved for lack of funds and had to be abandoned, and the society undertook no missionary work in the diocese again until 1860. Since then it has assisted in founding several chaplaincies for railway *employés* and the engineers and others engaged on board the steamships or several companies. It has also made some provision for the English-speaking population in the city of Bombay, who are apt to be left uncared for, as belonging to the congregations neither of the Government chaplains nor of the missionaries; but for the heathen it has done comparatively little.

When Bishop Douglas arrived in Bombay in 1869, he at once wished to move the missionaries from Bombay itself, where they had met with little success, and to station them in the country. He has elaborated an admirable scheme, by which at least two ordained missionaries would be placed at each of the towns which are military or civil stations. A large heathen population is naturally drawn to these spots, and the missionaries, in working among them, would have the advice of the Government chaplain in cases of difficulty, and the support and sympathy of the civil and military officials who would witness their labours. The experiment has answered exceedingly well at Kolapore, in the Mahratta country, which was the first place selected, and whose rajah was friendly. It is now being tried at Poona, but the lack of suitable men has thrown the work of the ordained missionary on the chaplain, the Rev. S. Stead, who, in spite of feeble health, has gathered in 125 converts. The deplorable dearth of men fitted for this work has shown the bishop how great is the need of a native clergy; and he is now aiming at the establishment of a Theological College at Poona. Among the converts there must be ample material out of which a native clergy could be formed, but

the machinery for giving the requisite training has to be supplied.

In Bombay, besides the Mahometans and the Brahmins, there is a colony of about 100,000 Parsees, the followers of Zoroaster. That they are fire-worshippers, which is the popular belief, they themselves deny. Their religion is obsolete and powerless; its customs, however, some of which are most revolting, are still observed by the more conservative of the body, although they attach no spiritual meaning to them. Keen and successful men of business, the Parsees have been called the Anglo-Saxons of India: they are often to be seen in England, where they carry on vast commercial operations, and make their presence known by gifts on a scale of munificence equally vast. Why should men, so full of the enlightenment of the times, continue in an effete superstition, proof against the appeals of Christian missionaries, the allurements of Hinduism, and the proselytising Mahometans? This, indeed, is a question not easy to be answered.

We have now considered the past and present condition of missionary work in India proper. Ceylon will fall under our notice in another paper, in which we shall consider our work among Buddhists. We have seen how many were the difficulties of conquering and holding India, and how much greater are the difficulties of evangelising it. These papers will have been written in vain if they do not show that enough has been already accomplished to assure us that the task is not an impossible one, and that it will surely be accomplished. If further proof of the power of missions were needed, it would be found in the bitter hatred with which the work is regarded by philosophical Easterns, and in the unceasing depreciation which it meets with in England from men who abhor distinctive teaching and a dogmatic creed.

The religions of the East are altogether effete in the light of Western learning and civilisation, and the followers of them know them, in many cases, to be so; but they shrink from embracing the religion of their conquerors. Many circumstances combine in thus influencing them: they see that Christians do not agree among themselves, and the truth which is offered for their acceptance comes before them in varied and sometimes in opposing forms; but, much more than this, the flood of Western scepticism, which in its many forms—positivism, pantheism, eclecticism, &c.—has sprung up in Europe and in America, at the very time when the truth was growing daily in influence among Orientals, has acted most fatally on inquiring spirits in India, and left them without faith in their old creed and unwilling to accept a new one. It is sad to read in a report of the Church Missionary Society that many educated men, whose convictions were too strong to allow them to advocate either Sikhism or Hinduism, had found in Brahmoism a vantage-ground, both against Hinduism and Christianity, and that they were encouraged to speak with equal lofty contempt of both by the enthusiastic reception which Keshub Chunder Sen had met with in England.

It is the opinion of some of the most thoughtful of Indian statesmen, that if England does not Christianise India, her tenure of it will not last much longer. Portugal and Holland have each possessed India, but have failed to retain it. Why God has entrusted that country to English rule is, indeed, a profound question. We received it with undeveloped resources, its people lying under the burden of iniquitous laws and bloody superstitions; we made roads which would bear to our rule testimony as abiding as do the roads on which we still travel in England to the occupation of the Romans; we opened her ports to the commerce of the world, and so brought India into the comity of nations;

more recently we have covered the land with a network of railways and electric telegraphs; while our postal service reduces the time of communication between London and Bombay to three weeks; we have also imposed on it just laws, impartially administered, and have opened to the youth of India a way to high offices in the Government of their country. These elements of advanced civilisation are now in the possession of India; but railways and telegraphs and such like things will never truly civilise a land, nor satisfy the yearnings of spirits which crave for more lasting things. Neither are they the highest gifts which our relation to India compels us to offer to it. It will be found, moreover, in the times of crisis, that they will not suffice to secure our hold on that land. Nothing is more painful than to listen to the extravagant eulogy which is heaped on modern civilisation by persons who do not care to consider whether what they so describe is worthy of the name. It has become the fashion to speak of the "Gospel" of civilisation, and to apply a word so sacred even to schemes which are conceived in selfishness and perfected in crime. The intercourse of the civilised white man has been a bitter evangel to many of the so-called "inferior" races, and it is a miserable abuse of words, which speaks of the Gospel of the "fire-water," for which the Red Indian will barter the very blanket which is to shelter him from the Arctic cold; or of the Gospel of the opium traffic, which has been the blot on our dealings with the East; or of the Gospel of the Queensland planter, the sacred interests of whose trade demand cheap Coolie labour, obtained at the cost of the lives of Christian missionaries, and which generates an undying feud between the untaught natives and those who wish to give to them the true Gospel.

There are philosophers, no doubt, to whom all creeds are exploded errors, things to be replaced by positive knowledge;

there are merchants and traders to whom cheap production and open markets are the Alpha and Omega of their creed; but to these and such as these, with whom no other argument is likely to prevail, let us repeat, that only in the conversion of India to Christianity lies the ground of our hope of long possessing it. This is the deliberate opinion of high officials, civil and military, whose lives have been spent in that country. Experience, too—the experience of public events—teaches the same truth to all who have patience to receive it. The real preservers of India as a British possession are the men who, from the love of God and with no prospect of personal gain, are labouring to evangelise it. Their work is humble enough in its details: in its results it is magnificent. They are the butt, always ready, for the gibe of the flippant and the careless; and at the very time they are rendering service which neither the statesman nor the soldier can supply. The well-known author of *The Englishman in India* is never tired of relating that when he first travelled up the country he was moved with pity, not wholly free from contempt, when he saw an English missionary teaching a few boys, under the shelter of a verandah, to read Milton's *Paradise Lost.* The contempt was increased when he learned that the missionary was a very distinguished Oxford man and a Fellow of his College; and the young civilian went on his way, and the missionary and his fruitless toil alike passed from his remembrance.

Years, many years afterwards, the civilian and the missionary met again: the scene was the Fort at Agra. The mutiny was sweeping through the North West Provinces, and the terror-stricken handful of Europeans sought shelter within the walls of the nearest towns. Fear ministered to their suspicion and indiscriminate abhorrence of the natives. Moslem and Brahmin and Christian were equally enemies in the eyes of our countrymen; they had not learned then

that the mutiny had been brought about by the craft of Mahometans working on the fanaticism and superstition of the Hindus. Every native was an object of dread. At such a time as this a body of Hindus approached the fort and sought to be admitted, declaring that they were Christians and would meet with no mercy from the insurgents. The officer in command of the fort refused to let in a horde of men, who probably were in league with the mutineers, and then it was that the missionary came forward and demanded that they should be admitted, he being surety for their fidelity, or that he should himself be let out, that he might share their fate. This was an appeal that could not be resisted; the missionary was allowed to open the gate and let in his friends and children one by one.

The labours of past years had not been in vain; he had taught them better things even than the poetry of Milton. During the siege that followed, their fidelity was conspicuous and their help invaluable, and their religious faith never gave a sign of wavering. Our enemies were the Mahometans whose creed we had flattered, and the Hindus whose superstitions we had humoured; the only persons in the mutinous districts who proved faithful to our rule were the Christians who had been won by the patient toil of the missionaries. What happened in 1857 in one part of India is much more likely to be repeated on a larger scale as time goes on. We are sweeping away, as rapidly as English education can travel, with the vast wave of Western civilisation, the many ancient beliefs and inveterate prejudices with which India has long been held in bondage. The question now is, not whether idolatry can last, for it is already doomed, but whether the kingdom of Christ shall or shall not be erected on its ruins. There is a middle course, indeed, which it is sad to contemplate. We may leave India to itself—without a creed, without a religion. Having swept away such dim revelations

of higher things as their ancient creed allowed to them,—having shown them that the system which formerly exercised some restraint on them, and led them to make sacrifices and to offer prayers, was false, and having by that very act inclined them to disbelieve in all revelation,—we may leave the Hindus in a state worse than their first, to grope their way through grosser superstitions still, until, with the help which English and American sceptics will not be slow to offer them, they stand forth "The Church of the Future." Then with intellects sharpened, with passions educated, their hearts possessed by a sordid love of gain and of conquest, restrained by no fears, trammelled by no superstitions, guided by no purer aspirations, how long will the millions of India, thus educated by their conquerors, continue our subjects? Better for them had they been left to the practice of the duties which their ancient religions imposed on them, and which they were wont to observe with reverence and exactness, than thus be brought by a spurious civilisation into a condition in which neither hope nor fear suggest aught that is elevating, and where the motives which have most influence on the spirits of men exercise no power.

If from such causes as we have sketched the British rule in India shall ever become a thing of the past, in vain will be all our past triumphs in war, in vain will be our material triumphs in the domains of science and of skill. In the highest of all human efforts we shall be proved in the face of the whole world to have failed disgracefully.

VIII.

Ceylon has gone through the same ordeal as India, and the history of the Pennisula is, in its general outline, the history of the Island, which hangs like a gem on its southern point. Portuguese and Dutch, each have held it, and each have done their best to evangelise it. When the Dutch were driven out of the island in 1795 they left some 350,000 Christians behind them: the converts of the Portuguese Mission were supposed to be hardly fewer in number: the Treaty of Amiens finally made the island over to the British Crown, and in 1811 the non-Roman Christians had dwindled down to 150,000. The Scriptures had been largely translated into Singhalese and Tamil in the last century, and the churches, both Portuguese and Dutch, which still remain, bear testimony of the zeal of those nations.

The story of the English missions in Ceylon is not creditable to us. Bishops Middleton and Heber both visited the island, and the first Bishop of Madras, in whose diocese it was included, showed great anxiety for its welfare, and visited every part of it. In 1845 it was made an independent diocese, and Bishop Chapman was its first bishop. On his arrival he found the land at every step given up to idolatry: the churches few and at wide intervals, and the clergy miserably insufficient. With the heathen worship many ceremonies of the Roman Church had been incorporated, and some festival days in the Roman calendar had come to be observed. In 1862

Bishop Piers Claughton, of St. Helena, succeeded to Bishop Chapman, and in 1871 Bishop Jermyn was consecrated on Bishop Claughton's resignation.

As an old Eton master, Bishop Chapman was sensible of the blessing of a good school and college, and, impressed as he was with the need of a native clergy, he made successful efforts to establish a theological college and a collegiate school. Events have shown the wisdom of his plan: the College of St. Thomas continues to train and send forth a body of highly educated clergy, who do good service in the missions. In 1854 the bishop had the satisfaction of consecrating the Cathedral of St. Thomas, where day by day the service of the Church is reverently offered.

The two Church societies have thirty-four missionaries at work in the Diocese of Colombo, of whom only fourteen are Englishmen. There is a considerable number of colonists engaged in coffee planting: many of these are gentlemen of good family, and are well-educated; for these the Bishop is anxious to provide more regular ministrations than in their remote clearings they have hitherto received, and a chaplain to a coffee planter's estate has a pleasant sphere of work in which he can do much good.

Among the heathen population there are Mahometans, Hindus, and Buddhists. In the northern half of the island we meet principally with the Hindus, who are one in race with the Shanars of Tinnevelly; there are also many immigrants from Malabar, and in the interior some aboriginal tribes who are still in savagery: in the southern portion the people are for the most part Buddhists, and to a consideration of this mysterious creed we shall devote the rest of this paper.

For an adequate treatment of a religion so ancient, and whose adherents are far in excess of those of any other existent creed, the writer of these pages has neither the

ability nor the space: those who would wish thoroughly to understand a matter so intricate and a system so profound will have to wade through many larger books:* indeed, it is only with much diffidence and reverence that at the best such a matter should be handled; as Professor Max Müller has wisely reminded us—

"We speak glibly of Buddhism and Brahmanism, forgetting that we are generalising on the most intimate convictions of millions and millions of human souls, divided by half a world, and by thousands of years."

The student of ancient religions needs such a reminder as this. These creeds are not wholly grotesque fables: nay, every religion, even the most degraded, has something which ought to be sacred to us, for in all religions there is a secret yearning after the true though unknown God; and especially in the religions of the East, whose devotees aim at nothing but re-union with Deity, and pursue that aim with an almost utter forgetfulness of earthly objects, we find an example of pious abstraction, from which the busy Western may learn a lesson. For the missionary, as well as for those who care for his work, to aim at the conversion of the heathen without previous study of that from which they are to be converted, is a most unphilosophical reversal of the natural order of things. Bulwarks sometimes look less formidable to those who have got within the citadel than to those who standing in front attempt to overthrow them, and the bulwarks of many a false religion may be seen to rest, in spite of all that is false in them, on the foundation of reverence and faith.

* Especially *Le Bouddha et sa Religion*, par J. Barthélemy Saint Hilaire; *Chips from a German Workshop*, by Professor Max Müller; *Christ and other Masters*, by Archdeacon Hardwick; and *Hardy's Manual of Buddhism*, to which works these papers are under obligations, which are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

Buddhism may be regarded as a third stage of that religion which in a previous paper we have described as Hinduism. In the very earliest stage, when the people were emerging from the twilight of intelligence, processes of nature and the elements themselves having been first made by poetic sentiment into symbols of religious feeling, came at length to be objects of worship. To that period there succeeded the heroic age, when, after the era of the Vedas, men became of the likeness of gods, and a mixture of anthropomorphism and polytheism prevailed: a theory of gross materialism was then dominant; the doctrines of transmigration of souls and the incarnation were everywhere prominent features of Brahminism, and caste, an ordinance which, as has been mentioned, is nowhere found in the Vedas, held the people bound. A nation sinks as its mythology sinks, and then there comes a time when, the lowest depth having been reached, the moral sense is awakened—it may be in a society of thinkers, it may be in the breast of one man superior to his brethren—and a movement is made which some call rebellion, and others reform. Early in the seventh century before Christ Guadama was born in that part of the kingdom of Oude which lies at the foot of the Nepaulese mountains; he was the son of a king, who belonged to the Kshattrya or Warrior class, and was as a child remarkable for his beauty and his accomplishments. He was devoted to meditation, and his father, to prevent him from sinking into a mere dreamer, married him at an early age. The marriage was the happiest possible, but it failed to interrupt his meditations. The materialism of the Brahminic creed he revolted from: for himself he strove after the supreme intelligence, which he felt sure must exist somewhere, if only it could be found. Few things in history are more touching than the account of Guadama, or, as he was known at first, Sakya Mouni, the solitary one of the

race of Sakya, whose tender and noble spirit, insensible to the attractions of the court to which he belonged, was driven by the contemplation of human misery to struggle to escape from the bondage of the world even at the cost of annihilation.

The account of Guadama's life falls within the scope of historic legend, if not of history itself, and is not dependent on mere myth; it is therefore with the more interest that we read of the chain of circumstances which led to his conversion from Brahminism, and to the establishment of the creed which bears the name which he subsequently adopted. On three several occasions when driving out of the royal city he met an old decrepit man, whose faculties, mental and bodily, were spent, — a sick man, parched with fever and terror-stricken at the approach of death —and a corpse lying on a bier, with friends and relatives wailing around. The effect was just what such spectacles would be likely to produce on a dreamer: it did not occur to him to minister to the needs of the aged, the sick, or the sorrowful; he only regarded them as subjects for his own meditation, and he conceived a deeper repugnance for youth which must end in old age, for health which is liable to sickness, and for life itself, which lasts so short a time and terminates in death. He sighed to be able to lead captive these three—old age, disease, and death. A fourth incident suggested to him the means by which he thought his desire might be accomplished. He saw a fakeer, or mendicant, standing in the street calm and abstracted, wearing his religious garb with an air of dignity and apparently free from all mundane considerations. Asceticism had always been, and still is, a great power in the East, and Guadama saw in the practice of it a solution of his difficulties, and the path which would lead him to the only real life. He had not at this time thought of elabor-

ating a system of his own : he contented himself with studying under famous Brahmins, but this was in vain ; he then withdrew with five friends into solitude, and spent six years in retirement and in the practice of austerities. There he learned that asceticism was a stumbling-block rather than a help, and this conviction cost him the loss of his five friends, who at once deserted him. Left to himself he worked out his own system, and became the subject of ecstatic visions : in time he conceived that the knowledge for which he had been seeking was his, and henceforth he assumed the name of Buddha, "the enlightened one." For some time he hesitated whether he should publish his knowledge or lock it up in his own breast, but the love of his fellows prevailed, and he determined to communicate his secret for the benefit of suffering humanity.

He preached at Benares, then a chief seat of Eastern learning, and wherever he went he made many converts. This was only natural. Brahminism could only spread itself by persuading its converts that they were Sudras, inferior in every way to the Brahmins, their hereditary teachers: Buddha, on the other hand, declared, "My doctrine is like the sky—there is room for all without exception." Such a doctrine in a country enthralled by caste could ensure for itself acceptance ; thieves, sweepers, beggars, the outcast, and the oppressed came round Buddha, as did many kings likewise, confessing their sins, and the new religion needed but time to prove that it could bear transplanting ; that while Hinduism could live only within a certain area, Buddhism could strike its roots into the soil wherever it might be carried. At the age of 80 Buddha's labours ended, and he entered "nirvana," of which something will presently be said, B.C. 543, some two centuries before the invasion of India by Alexander.

His work survived him : the converts made by him in

Cashmir were the first-fruits of his labours. From its cradle at the foot of the Nepaulese hills his creed went forth and covered Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, Nepaul, China, Tartary, Thibet, Mongolia, and reached even to the outskirts of European civilisation, traces of it being visible on the borders of Russia. At this moment its adherents number more than 450,000,000. This work of conversion was the result of a system of missions, elaborated with care and prosecuted with zeal; its mark is left in monasteries, topes, and rock-hewn temples, still to be found in all stages of decay. For a thousand years it held its own in Hindostan, when it was driven out by the revival in force of the creed from which it had been a reaction; but in the lands which are enumerated above, it still flourishes in all the pride of power and of numbers.

What, then, is Buddhism, which numbers its followers by hundreds of millions? Briefly, it is atheism and nihilism. It admits no reality in creation, and therefore it cannot receive the notion of a Creator: it contemplates no God, nothing but mind minding itself; and yet the morality which it taught was the highest conceivable. To the few it was a metaphysical philosophy; to the multitudes it was a religion which they embraced. The commands which it laid upon them tended to the repression of the individual will, and consequently to the happiness of the many. Those who aimed at a higher standard in the religious life had to practise the sternest asceticism, to be clothed in rags, to beg their food from door to door, to live not in houses but among the tombs, and the reward held out was not happiness on earth, still less in a future state, which finds no place in the Buddhist creed, but that knowledge which ends in "nirvana," or complete annihilation. On the nature of "nirvana" many learned papers have already been written, and probably from time to time fresh and fresh treatises will

deal with it. According to the best authorities "nirvana" is extinction. The older literature of Buddhism teaches plainly, as it seems, that it is nothing short of annihilation, not merely of all that we associate with the idea of existence, but specially of the thinking principle. The Oriental scholars, who do not accept this view, regard "nirvana" as a dreamless sleep, from which there is no awaking, so that the difference is scarcely more than a question of words.

And this is the religion which compels men to make many prayers, which leads them to give largely of their means, to make many sacrifices, to observe seasons of fast and festival, to practise a morality of the severest kind, and which supports and comforts in trial and sorrow, nay, even trains them to bear trials and sorrow with patience and indifference. "It is incredible," says Professor Max Müller, "in how exhausted an atmosphere the Divine spark within us will glimmer on, and even warm the dark chambers of the human heart."

The ancient literature of Buddhism is abundant, and is now accessible; but fifty years ago the sacred books of Buddhists, Brahmins, and Parsees were alike unknown in Europe; all that was then known was obtained, bit by bit, from the versions of travellers in China, Japan, Thibet, Burmah, or Mongolia, and their testimony, such as it was, served to prove the fact, that the terminology of the Buddhist creed was derived from the Sanskrit tongue, and that its birthplace was in India. In 1824 a civil servant of the East India Company discovered in the possession of the Nepaulese priests a collection of Sanskrit works, which proved to be the Buddhist Canon, and the priests stated that some of the documents had been in the monasteries for 1700 years, and that the whole collection had been translated into the language of Thibet some 600 years before. A Hungarian traveller, whose love of philology had led him

to master the language of Thibet, was set to work at translating these documents, and it was shown that they were translations of the originals which had so recently been brought into the light of day in Nepaul. Almost at the same time a Russian *savant*, who had acquired a knowledge of Mongolian, was enabled to translate the Buddhist Canon in that language, and within ten years from the first discovery in Nepaul the Buddhist literature of Ceylon, written in Pali, the ancient language of that island, was also unearthed. It was stated above that Buddhism was spread by a regular system of missions founded immediately after Buddha's death, and the discoveries of the present generation prove the identity of the sacred Canon which was sent forth from Nepaul to Thibet and Mongolia in the North, to China in the East, and to Ceylon in the South, and translated into the languages of those countries. From Ceylon again the Pali Scriptures were translated into the languages of Burmah and Siam, when the missions were extended to those countries. Probably no age of the world has witnessed more assiduous translating than that which marked the early years of Buddhist missions, and the labours of some at least of the translators were rewarded; for when, in the sixteenth century, the island of Ceylon was invaded by a Tamil dynasty, the conquerors destroyed every scrap of Buddhist literature. The religion was not extirpated, it continued to be the creed of the island; but when after two centuries the invaders were subdued and Buddhism resumed its original position, it found itself without authentic standards of doctrine, and the Cingalese obtained from Siam copies of the Canon which they had themselves sent thither centuries before.

Of the present condition of the Buddhist faith, its monasteries and pagodas, and of the effects which missions have had upon it, we shall treat in subsequent papers.

IX.

Had the order been followed which will generally be observed in these papers, the Burmese Missions would have been considered together with those of Bengal, as being equally with the latter under the government of the Bishop of Calcutta. It seems desirable, however, to separate them, both because the people with whom we shall have now to deal are entirely distinct from the inhabitants of India proper in race, in language, and in creed; and also because the accident which makes Burmah at present a portion of the Diocese of Calcutta, will, it is hoped, soon be reckoned among things of the past. Bishop Cotton most earnestly desired that a bishopric should be established at Rangoon; he declared that it was impossible for any Bishop of Calcutta adequately to influence and guide distant missions to a people altogether alien from those among whom he chiefly laboured. The Hindustani and Bengalee languages he acquired sufficiently for the purpose of addressing the catechumens whom he confirmed. These languages, although quite distinct, have some common elements, belong to the same Aryan family, and are in their structure simple; but the Burmese language belongs to the Turanian group, is very difficult, and if acquired by a Bishop of Calcutta, could only be learned at the cost of neglecting other and even more necessary work.

It has been mentioned in a previous paper that a missionary who aims at being an efficient evangeliser, must

master not only the language, but also the mythology, the literature, and the religious system of the people whom he would convert. It must be evident to all that Hinduism and Mahometanism present a field of study sufficiently wide for any mind, however powerful; but when the literature of Buddhism is added, the task is simply an impossibility.

In any history of Burmese Missions the place of honour is due to the labours of the American Baptists, whose work, not among the Buddhist races, but among the Karens, an inferior tribe, who in great numbers inhabit the mountainous districts, is very interesting. Bishop Cotton was wont to declare that the three great missionary successes in India were, the Church of England Missions in Tinnevelly, the German-Lutheran Mission at Chota Nagpore (which is now absorbed into the Church of England), and the Mission of the American Baptists to the Karens. This was an offshoot from the famous Serampore Mission, the work of Carey, Ward, and Marshman, and it owes its existence to the jealousy of the Government officials. In the early part of the present century two Baptist missionaries essayed to land at Calcutta, and were forbidden to do so; one was at length permitted on account of the sickness of his wife, the other was ordered to embark again. Instead of returning to England he sailed with one companion to Rangoon, anxious to investigate the results of the Roman Missions in that locality. The English traders encouraged them to remain, and they immediately set to work at the study of the language, and the production of a vernacular Bible. But troubles arose: a war was imminent between the British and the Burmese Governments, and the missionaries were regarded by the natives as spies. It was not until 1812 that the Baptist Mission was floated into working condition by the arrival of one whose name is for ever bound up with

the evangelisation of Burmah—Adoniram Judson. The labours of this remarkable man we cannot attempt to describe at any length: if to render a life-long service in presence of bitter personal sorrows and gigantic difficulties constitutes martyrdom, then indeed he was a faithful witness for what he believed to be the truth; from 1812, when he landed, until 1850, when he died, his labours were continuous. He lost two wives, victims of the unwholesome climate and of the hardships to which they were exposed. He was himself a prisoner for many months, his life being always in peril; but his labours were not without visible fruits, for he could declare, even after twenty years' residence, that he was living "in a country no longer heathen, the fruits and rice being cultivated by Christian hands, no dwellings being in sight that were not Christian dwellings, and whose inmates talked and lived and looked like Christians."

Bishop Wilson visited Judson on the occasion of his going to Burmah, and the visit was returned, when Judson, in feeble health, and seeking restoration in a sea-voyage, was welcomed cordially at Calcutta. The work of Judson was carried on by Dr. Mason (who joined him as early as 1831, and is still in Burmah), and by a considerable staff of missionaries. At Kemmendine, three miles from the city of Rangoon, they have a large college, where Karen youths are thoroughly taught in Scripture, arithmetic, geography, and the grammar of their own language; they know no English, and so are, unfortunately, debarred from the study of many works which would be of great advantage to them. The number of Karen Christians in connection with these missions is between thirty and forty thousand.

The troubles of the American missionaries were very much aggravated by the suspicions under which they lay, when, from time to time, the country was threatened with

war. In 1825, when Sir A. Campbell was in a position to enforce his own terms, he demanded the release of Mr. and Mrs. Judson, although they were not British subjects, from the bondage in which they had long been—an imprisonment the hardships of which were of the most painful and odious description. It was not until 1852 that the British power was permanently established in Burmah, and the missions of the English Church, as they have been established subsequently, have been free from the drawbacks to which the earlier labourers were exposed. The Roman Missions in Burmah are of long standing, and are widely extended; the Vicar Apostolic of Pegu, Bishop Bigandet, has given the best years of his life to Burmah, and is singularly proficient in the language and in the literature of the country. The Missions of the Church of England, as represented by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in Burmah are comparatively young, but they have been and are excellently manned, and have been extended as widely, and are, at least, as full of promise as any missions of the same age in any part of the world. The people themselves are well disposed; free from the pride of caste, bright and intelligent, conscious of the many advantages to be gained from English books and Western civilisation, they have been called the Irish of India, as the Parsees have been called the Anglo-Saxons. Among such a people the work of a teacher has many attractions.

In 1857 the Government chaplain at Moulmein laid the foundation of a mission in that town, which is the capital of the province of Tenasserim, and in 1859 the Rev. A. Shears was sent from England to take up the work thus commenced. In 1860 he was reinforced by Mr. J. E. Marks, then a layman, but now the senior missionary in Burmah, whose peculiar gifts as a teacher have done very much towards making our Burmese missions what they are.

From the first it was determined that the chief instrument of evangelisation in this land should be education; for that the people were eager; theological or metaphysical subtleties they do not care for, and they show no desire to listen to the preacher as he addresses them in the bazaars or streets. For such a mission Mr. Marks was a man out of ten thousand; he is one of those to whom teaching is not only a delight but an instinct, and he had been in the habit, when living in England, of holding a night-school in the East of London, after spending the whole day with his own pupils. Under his care the Moulmein School rapidly increased, and in less than two years from its commencement he was able to present for examination three hundred scholars, of divers races, when Bishop Cotton visited Burmah in the winter of 1861. Shortly after this Mr. Shears' health gave way, and he was ordered to England, but not until he had laid the foundation of a girls' school at Moulmein and a boys' school at Rangoon, which has since developed into a widely-spread group of mission schools and stations. Single-handed, Mr. Marks, who had in the meantime been ordained, laboured at Rangoon and superintended the school at Moulmein; much of the New Testament and Prayer-book he had translated and carried through the press; continually he urged the need of reinforcement, but the call met with no response from England.

From the Diocese of Fredericton a young clergyman, who had read the story of Mr. Marks' labours, volunteered to join him, and the Rev. H. B. Nicholls arrived in March, 1864. With this increase to the staff the school progressed rapidly, but only for a brief space; the year that had commenced with so much promise ended sadly. In December Mr. Nicholls died of brain fever, and four days afterwards Mr. Marks was ordered to England in a very shattered state of health. Little more than a year elapsed before Mr. Marks

was again at his work, and the interval had not been spent unprofitably. During his sojourn in England he told the simple story of his work in all parts of the country, from Edinburgh to Penzance, and his unvarnished eloquence raised up many sympathisers. He returned to India with an enlarged staff, and was able to establish in Rangoon a girls' school, whose success has been uninterrupted. This is the more gratifying, inasmuch as English residents in Burmah prophesied certain failure, as the natives, while valuing education for their sons, considered it a needless, almost harmful luxury for their daughters.

Bishop Milman visited Burmah very soon after his arrival in India, and was much encouraged by all that he saw. The schools were in full vigour; 240 boys were present at the examination, of whom about ten per cent. were Christian; the girls' school, the pupils of which were not of the lower but of the upper classes, was full of promise. From the first the education given had been distinctively Christian; no child was admitted whose parents did not consent to its receiving religious instruction,—a conscience clause was unknown in Burmah,—and it was the bishop's opinion that, as pupils went forth from the schools, there would be need of greater and more complete ministerial supervision; and also that the time was at hand when the central school at Rangoon should throw out offshoots which should aggress on the heathenism which pervaded the whole land. Mr. Marks accompanied the bishop on his visitation up the Irrawaddy as far as the frontier town of Thyet Myo, some 240 miles north of Rangoon. Wherever the steamer anchored they were met by requests for teachers. The immediate result of that voyage was the establishment of schools at several towns on the Irrawaddy; to have supplied them with masters from England would have been impossible; but the school in Rangoon, which had had a

start of some years, was now in a condition to send out some of its own scholars, whom Mr. Marks had trained as pupil-teachers, and who were quite competent to manage these subordinate schools. The Rev. C. Warren is in charge of the educational department of our Burmah Missions, and he visits each of the schools from time to time, closing those which do not succeed, and opening new ones where there is a promise of success. The Moulmein school is likely to be given up: the cost is great, and the results are small in towns which are Europeanised, while the schools in purely Burman towns are full of promise; a girls' school is founded at Prome, another at Thyet Myo, both offshoots of the Rangoon school. The Rev. C. H. Chard, who is stationed at Thyet Myo, and who has a special aptitude for Burmese literature, has some few youths under his care, of whom it is hoped some will become ordained missionaries. The Rev. J. Trew, another member of the Rangoon staff, has devoted his time to itinerating in the country districts, and his method of evangelising the people is unconventional and to some degree original. He travels in a gharri, with a catechist and a servant, and sometimes is accompanied by some boys belonging to the school. He cannot be accused of luxury, for he describes a recent tour in the following words:—"I am thankful to say that, though in the mountains for five weeks during the most unhealthy season, I escaped on the whole very well. Fever I had slightly all the time, but suffered most from acute inflammation of the eyes brought on from exposure to heat and cold; rains and rivers thus caused me much pain, and I have not yet entirely recovered. One lesson I learnt, and that is, to do without what we so often deem necessaries. I took a small stock of beer—this was soon exhausted; a bottle of brandy, the only one I had, was broken; no milk, little sugar, no bread or biscuits—cakes made of pounded

rice became quite a luxury. Then, too, my boots were worn out. The leeches not only bit and bled me, but their bites became sores." At the end of the day's journey he goes either to the traveller's bungalow or to the head-man of the village. After a bath and dinner, the people come round him for conversation, for medical advice, which he is able to give, or for amusement. Sometimes he plunges at once into discussion, but this is only when he is known, and can allude to some previous conversations. If it is his first visit he introduces himself by means of a magic lantern; the slides, representing scriptural scenes, give plenty of opportunity for a running catechetical lecture. Not a few adult baptisms have been the result of these missionary tours, and on some occasions the idols, which are in every Burmese house, have been given up to the missionary as no longer of use. Mr. Trew has faith in the axiom that a living Christian is a tree, whose seed is in itself, and he is not afraid to employ his young converts as unpaid evangelists; indeed, it is found that these, in whom the glow of their conversion is recent, are very successful in attracting and impressing others, and the fact that they are thus placed in a position where their example is powerful for good or evil, tends to sober them, and to make them watchful over their own conduct. Altogether then, with five schools in Rangoon itself, and a group of smaller schools on the Irrawaddy, with an able Tamil catechist to care for the immigrants of that race, with an itinerating clergyman continually breaking fresh ground, and another clergyman training up candidates for the native ministry of the future, the missions in British Burmah may be said to be in a promising condition.

They are not confined, however, to British territory. So long ago as 1863 Mr. Marks met in Rangoon a son of the Emperor of Burmah. Never losing an opportunity, he gave

him copies of several Christian books which he had translated into Burmese, and talked with him on religious topics. The result was that the prince invited Mr. Marks to the capital. It was not until the autumn of 1869 that Mr. Marks was enabled to visit Mandalay, and then he did so at the request of the sovereign. He took with him five Burmese lads from his school as an introduction, perhaps as a specimen of his work. At a state interview which the king gave him Mr. Marks presented a copy of the Book of Common Prayer in Burmese, printed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and specimens of the work done in the girls' school at Rangoon.

The result of the interview was that the king offered to build at his own cost a church, a large boarding-school, and a mission-house, and to send his own sons to the school. These promises have been kept right royally. The princes, it is true, no longer come to school, for they were attended by so many nobles, and were the subjects of so much etiquette, that the time that should have been devoted to education was absorbed by ceremony. Mr. Marks, therefore, goes to them, and gives them instruction in the palace. The church has been built, the clergy-house has been occupied for more than two years, and the king's munificence has never wavered. One fact connected with the Church at Mandalay is particularly interesting. Mr. Trew, before sailing for Burmah in 1870, preached on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Whippingham, and related the story of the king's bounty. The Queen was worshipping in her parish church on that day, and was so struck by the conduct of a heathen king in building a church for her Christian subjects, that her Majesty expressed a desire to give a font to the church, in which, with God's blessing, many a Burmese convert might one day be admitted into the Christian covenant. The Christian

Queen's pious desire has been accomplished, and a magnificent font of ample proportions now stands in "Christ Church," Mandalay.

Mr. Marks' position is one of no little peril. He has to walk very warily. At present he is in the favour of the king; but the temper of an Eastern despot is uncertain as the wind. It is not for a moment pretended that the king has any leanings to Christianity, although he is interested in its truths, and shows no mean aptitude for discussion of serious subjects. It is quite conceivable that his kindness to an English clergyman may not be altogether free from selfish motives; and it is known that he is very ambitious to introduce machinery, steamers, and even railroads into his kingdom. More than once or twice Mr. Marks has been compelled to explain that he knows nothing about politics, or commerce, or machinery, but that he is a missionary, and nothing else. To these must be added the fact that the Jesuit missionaries were at Mandalay long ago, and are not likely, unless they are altogether more than human, to witness with complacency the favour accorded to an heretical teacher. Yet for more than two years, in the very place where Judson, not half a century ago, was thrown into a dungeon and treated with the refinements of cruelty, Mr. Marks and his English schoolmaster and Burmese pupils have been living within a gunshot of the royal palace, without a guard and without lock or bolt to their doors. So little does the Church at large know of what some of her members are doing and suffering even in these prosaic days, that it is possible that some who read these pages may learn for the first time of the missions to Burmah, of the King of Mandalay, and of our brethren who are working in those lands.

A glance at the map will show how important is the position of Burmah. It is the natural highway to China,

and will be used as such at no distant day; and from our missions in Burmah aggression might be hopefully made into that mysterious and little-known land. There is within its borders an immense population, the majority of them being free from caste. These are tribes of whom our knowledge is imperfect: Karens, Shans, Singphos, Paloungs, Khyens, Toungthoos, and others. In Chittagong there is an immense trade, but no mission of any kind. In Arracan, with the capital Akyab, there has been, since the withdrawal of the American Baptists, no mission, with the exception of those of the Romanists; and our stations in Pegu and Tenasserim, prosperous and extending as they are, serve only to show more clearly how many large towns are at present wholly untouched.

In the last chapter a tolerably full account of the Buddhist creed was given. In Burmah our missionaries are confronted by that religion in its greatest vigour and in its purest form. In Thibet it is mixed up with many ceremonies which can be proved to be borrowed from the Roman Ritual. Prayers are in some cases offered by machines, which by the pulling of a cord scatter in the air strips of paper with printed texts in Pali. In Tartary it is corrupted with witchcraft and charms. In Ceylon Guadama's tooth is worshipped as a relic, although modern science has ruthlessly proved that the tooth in question is not human; and dancings, which are credited with powers of exorcism, are much practised. In China, where it is found in its lowest form, the Buddhists worship the shades of their ancestors and demons of various kinds; but in Burmah it seems to adhere to its original type, for there the people's worship consists only of strict observance of fast and festival, and of offerings of fruit and flowers to the shrine of Guadama. The strength of the creed lies in its monastic system and in the grandeur and antiquity of its pagodas. The education

of the young has always been in the hands of the priests or poonghyees. At an early age the boys are sent to the kyoungs or monasteries for education. In time they go forth into the world and pursue secular callings; but some have acquired a love of the religious life, and return to the kyoung, and at twenty years of age are eligible for the office of poonghyee. To this they are solemnly set apart: they take vows of poverty; they are allowed to hold no property, but are pledged to wear rags, and a yellow robe over their rags to proclaim their office, and to beg their food from the faithful. The vows so taken are not irrevocable; and if, as is often the case, the hardships of such a life are found to be too great, they are allowed to return to the world and to secular pursuits. When once this is done no subsequent change of mind is possible: the doors of the monastery have closed on them for ever.

Until we have arrived at a clear estimate of the inherent strength of Buddhism,—its antiquity, its wealth, its endowments, the numbers of its adherents, far in excess of all professing Christians throughout the world, the splendour of its pagodas and monasteries, its necessary hold on the minds of the people,—we are not in a position to estimate the labours of our missionaries; still less are we justified in feeling disappointed if the walls of this citadel, so ancient and so strong, have not fallen down as soon as we, in miserably insufficient numbers, have commenced the siege.

X.

The mission to Borneo is wholly a mission of the present generation, and the field has been exclusively in the possession of the English Church. Until 1838 it is probable that no European had set his foot on the soil of Borneo. He who acquired this distinction was remarkable on many accounts. Born in 1803, James Brooke served as a cadet in the Indian navy, and was wounded in the Burmese War. Having relinquished his profession, he made a voyage for the sake of pleasure, and in search of health, to the China seas, and the sight of the islands of that archipelago, each a gem of perfect beauty, but with resources undeveloped and inhabitants debased by slavery and piracy, suggested to him the task of offering to them civilisation, and of throwing them open to the world. It must be borne in mind that at that time the exact geographical position of the islands had not been ascertained; the navigation of those dangerous seas was accomplished without the aid of any but the most untrustworthy of charts. The little, however, that was known of the Malay races gave the European sailors good grounds for regarding them as their natural enemies, for the stories of their piratical expeditions were not more horrible than true. The natural products of these islands were lying dormant, profitless to mankind, and, in the midst of such possible wealth, the slave trade was the only commerce which was pursued vigorously. To suppress this traffic, to release the oppressed, to reclaim the pirates by engaging them in lawful

commerce, were the humane objects which Mr. Brooke set before himself. Enthusiastic as he was, he did not allow his plans to be marred by impulsive action; he laid them wisely, and sought for trustworthy companions. For a whole year he trained on board his own yacht a crew of English sailors, on whose personal attachment to himself he could implicitly rely, and it was not until 1838 that his yacht sighted Sarawak, then a town of 1,500 people, but now possessing a population of nearly 30,000. It does not fall within the scope of this paper to detail the many adventures which necessarily befel a pioneer and a reformer in such a country as Borneo. Mr. Brooke was perpetually exposed to oriental treachery, intensified by religious fanaticism; his life was hourly in danger, and his displays of courage of the very highest type were innumerable. In 1842, three years after his first landing, he was made Governor of Sarawak, with full powers, the Rajah Mudah Hassim ceding to him a government which he had found to be a burden, and the Sultan of Bruni consenting to the arrangement.

After a lapse of thirty years, our knowledge of Borneo is very slight. The island itself is the largest in the world (for Australia takes rank as a continent). On the eastern and southern sides the Dutch have commercial settlements; of the interior the sum of our knowledge is that it is peopled by an interesting race, superior to those with whom we have had dealings, and that they are independent, owing no allegiance, and paying no taxes. The province of Sarawak is on the north-west side, and of this and the adjacent parts into which our missions have been pushed, we now know a good deal; but even after a quarter of a century the state of the country is almost unique, and the missionaries who are stationed "up the rivers" and around the jungle may be regarded as taking the outpost duty of the evangelistic army. Their isolation is extreme and their discomforts many. In

the distant stations in Zululand, or on the rivers of Guiana, the missionaries have to forage for their own food, and their daily dinner depends much on the success of their own or others' rifles. This is not with them a very precarious state of things, as game of some sort is abundant; but in Borneo the wild animals are few and unfit for food, and, beyond the stock of poultry kept for conversion into curry, the European has to resort to tins of preserved meat sent out to him from England, a costly, wearying, and unwholesome kind of food.

To administer the government of a country in some respects so primitive, but in others defiled with the corruption found in more civilised states, was a herculean task. Mr. Brooke had to deal with the dominant Malays, bitter and bigoted Mahometans, and with their slaves, the Dyaks, a docile gentle, people, without definite religion, and possessing only the most indistinct notions concerning a Supreme Being. The Chinese were also represented in great numbers. Among these people human life was a thing of no value; every man lived in a state of war, his weapons ready for use and himself nothing loth to use them on the slightest pretext; their very homes were citadels, being built on piles for protection from their enemies. The life among the Dyaks is essentially a communal one, each house being a village. One which Mr. Brooke visited, and which was a counterpart of others, was 600 feet long, with one common street 21 feet wide running the whole length, and having doors on one side which opened into the several rooms. On the occasion of his visit, thirty human heads were hanging from the roof-tree. Of these trophies the people are very proud; until a youth has secured a number of these ghastly spoils he is not admitted to full privileges in his tribe: to take a certain number of heads is to assume the "*toga virilis.*" But amid this unmitigated savagery

Mr. Brooke met with a condition of things which is supposed to be limited to more civilised communities; the rajahs had each their following of sycophants, who sinned with impunity, and it was a difficult task to deal out justice to all with even hand. Plots and outbreaks, detected or suppressed, were of daily occurrence, and Mr. Brooke, with Captain Keppel of H.M.S. "Dido," had a perilous time. In 1845 Labuan, an island on the north-west coast of Borneo, was ceded to Great Britain, and Mr. Brooke was made confidential agent in those parts by the Foreign Office.

Hitherto missionary work in Borneo had not been attempted, but in 1846 Mr. Brooke appealed to England "to raise the Dyaks from their unparalleled wretchedness." Neither of the Church societies had funds with which to enter on a field so wide and so unknown: a special organisation was therefore set on foot by private persons. It shared the fate of all such schemes; at first people are attracted by a new mission, to be started under new auspices and supported by associations distinct from those which are familiar to them and of long standing. While enthusiasm is fresh, money flows in, but the enthusiasm dies, and new blood is not forthcoming; meanwhile it is discovered that a small mission fund is raised at a much higher percentage of cost than the larger income of a society, and with insolvency looking them in the face, the remnant of the supporters have either to witness the collapse of their scheme, or to seek for themselves absorption into one or other of the existing societies. This was the fate of the "Borneo Church Mission Fund," commenced in 1846, and even from the first aided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1852 its funds were exhausted, and it was saved from failure by being transferred to that society, which had just kept its third jubilee and had funds at its disposal. In 1847 three clergy-

men had been selected, of whom one died before the party had arranged to sail, and of the other two, one soon returned to England, and the Rev. F. T. McDougall laboured single-handed for a considerable time.

Of the government of Sarawak we shall have nothing further to say. Rajah Brooke laid the foundations of a future kingdom, and he secured for the country the blessings of the Christian faith. His administration has been estimated very differently by different people; to some he appeared a mere "brave," hardly superior, except in skill, to the pirates with whom he warred; others declared him to be an ideal ruler, wise and far-seeing, as philanthropic as he was firm; perhaps the true judgment of posterity will lie between these two. In many respects he disappointed those who admired him and expected most from him. The prophecies which his detractors hazarded concerning him were equally unfulfilled. To the mission he did not give the support which was looked for; he was autocratic in his government, and, regarding Christianity too exclusively as an engine of civilisation, he was inclined to dictate the form which the Christianity of Borneo should assume, and the doctrines which should be delivered to or withheld from the people. In his later days, his views became less and less in harmony with Church standards. The mission then owed very little to him. The one man to whom, under God, the conversion of Borneo will in time to come be attributed is its first bishop. The fact of Bishop McDougall being still spared, after twenty years of such perilous labour as few men in any age have undergone, to fulfil the more peaceful functions of an English vicar, ought not to be the cause of suppressing the record of those labours until his fame has become posthumous. Of the three first missionaries, he alone remained at his post; his experience as a Fellow of the College of Surgeons came into use immediately on his arrival, and

the question of the worth of medical missionaries was settled in his person. For three years he laboured single-handed. He acquired the language, made translations into Malay and Chinese, pioneered the way into the Dyak country so that he might know where to place his colleagues when any came to him, and built a mission-house and church at Sarawak, which latter was consecrated by Bishop Wilson in 1851. In that year three clergymen joined him, one of them being the Rev. Walter Chambers, the present bishop. Mr. Chambers went to the station prepared for him among the Sea Dyaks on the Batang Lupar to the east of Sarawak, and another missionary was sent to the same people on the Lundu River to the west. Thus the work was extended, and just at that time the funds which had supported it collapsed, as has been mentioned above.

On the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel taking over the mission, an attempt was made to give to it the benefit of an episcopal head; but the usual difficulties, technical and legal, were interposed. In 1855, however, these were removed, and on St. Luke's Day Dr. McDougall was consecrated Bishop of Labuan, in the Cathedral of Calcutta, the first instance of an Anglican bishop being consecrated outside the limits of the United Kingdom; the first occasion, too, on which four bishops of the English succession had been assembled in the capital of Hindostan. It was a legal technicality that assigned to the new bishop the title of Labuan, which was the sole territory belonging to the British Crown in those regions, and on his arrival in Sarawak the absurdity was the more apparent, by the fact of the rajah objecting to the use of such a title by a bishop ministering in his territory, and he therefore appointed him Bishop of Sarawak as well.

From time to time fresh labourers came out to Borneo, either as additions to the staff, or to take the places of those

who could not bear the equatorial climate, the humid atmosphere, the monotony of days of almost uniform duration throughout the year, or whose physical courage was not equal to the perpetual state of alarm in which the English colony lived. In 1857, when the missions were visibly extended, churches having been built, schools prospering, and more labourers loudly called for, a rebellion, on the part of the Chinese, suddenly threw the whole work into confusion. Some of the European officers were killed, but the rajah himself escaped. The bishop and his family, together with some of the missionaries and the Christian converts, hid themselves in the jungle, and ultimately took refuge in the fort at Linga. Returning at the end of a month, the bishop found his home entirely ransacked; but, worse than all, while the Chinese had been either killed or driven into the country, the old bloodthirsty spirit, which had been put to sleep by the efforts of the missionaries, was aroused anew; the passion for taking heads was rekindled, and it was a long time before the Dyaks could settle down once more in peace to receive Christian teaching. Two years later a Mahometan plot was hatched, and two Europeans fell victims; piracy and head-taking were revived, and the mission made little visible way.

But the missionaries remained at their posts, doing, if not all they wished, the utmost that was possible. The small flocks were tended, the schools were organised, the languages were studied more thoroughly and translations made, the sufferings of the people, whether Christian or heathen, were relieved by medical skill, and thus quietly, almost imperceptibly, the truth was advanced.

In 1863 Buda, the son of a notorious pirate-chief, having met with some Christian Dyaks, became himself an inquirer, and put himself under Mr. Chambers' instruction. The next year he returned with wife and child for further

teaching, and returned to his own people to work as a catechist among them; the result was, that in 1867 Mr. Chambers, who paid them a long visit, was happy in baptizing 180 of the people, who, but very recently, had been the most dangerous enemies of the English and the most notorious of the pirates of Borneo.

From the first the missionaries bestowed much labour on the Chinese, which has been well repaid. This is one of the many instances, of which more will be said in another paper, where the Chinese, so inaccessible in their own land, yield themselves readily to Christian influences when they are removed from home associations. One of their number, who landed with a party of 3,000 immigrants in 1849, and who had come with them from China as their Confucian teacher, was among the earliest inquirers into Christianity. After a time he was baptized and laboured as a catechist; and in 1865 he was ordained deacon.

The following incident of his preparation was recently related by Bishop McDougall in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, which confirms the testimony of Bishop Cotton to the value of the Athanasian Creed.

The bishop said, "When the Rev. Foo Ngyen Khoon was instructed in the teaching of the 'Quicunque vult,' his earlier training as a catechist having been limited to the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds, he said, "Why did you never teach me this before? I have had the greatest difficulty in understanding your doctrine of the Trinity; now I understand it in a way I never understood it before: this is the thing to teach the Chinese."

The work among this race is interrupted from time to time by their migratory habits; but if the sincerity of their faith is to be tested by visible fruits, it need not fear the test. In 1865 the Chinese resident in Sarawak conceived the idea of building a "House of Charity," for the shelter of

Christians out of work, and for the temporary reception of their countrymen whose homes were up the river when business called them to Sarawak, and who at present were subjected to temptations by lodging with the heathen, or by resorting to the opium shops for society: from the offertory at their services and by their private gifts the design was carried out, and the "House of Charity" is a diocesan institution.

The Borneo Missions extend now over the whole of the country governed by Rajah Brooke, and the outposts are opening the way for the evangelisation of the interior. The number of baptized persons is about 1,600; but the result of the mission is not to be measured simply by such statistics. The general tone of the community is raised, and hundreds who have made no profession would be shocked at the thought of doing things in which the last generation gloried. The time has now come when the fruits of past labours should appear in native candidates for the ministry. Many, both Dyak and Chinese, are labouring diligently and consistently as catechists and teachers; but the bishops have not yet been able to give, except in the case of the Chinese clergyman already mentioned, such attention to theological training as would fit their pupils for the higher duties of ordained ministers.

The Dyaks who have renounced heathenism have not been urged to lay aside any old customs, save such as are inconsistent with Christianity, or repugnant to health, decency, morality, or piety. From the first it has been determined that the Church of Borneo shall not be an exotic; and in laying the foundations of such a Church, we may bear in mind that we are dealing, not only with a manly people, skilled in the arts both of war and of peace, but with a race which has not (so far as can be discovered) emigrated from other parts, but is still dwelling in the land

which was its cradle, and bids fair to increase both in numbers and in importance.

The Straits settlements are now under the episcopal charge of the Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak. Of mission work little is being done in these parts by the Church of England. There are Government chaplains at Singapore, Penang, and Malacca; at Singapore the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has had a mission for some years. The work is extremely difficult, on account of the variety of races and creeds that have to be dealt with; a single ordained missionary can at best only hope to direct the labours of catechists or native clergy. Tamils, Chinese, Malay-Chinese, are here in tens of thousands; they remain a few years and then depart, either to their own countries, or to fresh fields of labour, so that if brought under Christian teaching, while the missionary grieves at their loss, they become ready dispensers of the truths which they have received. Few places can be found more important than Singapore. From an insignificant fishing village, with a population of 150 souls, it has grown until it has become the key of Eastern commerce. The forethought of Sir Stamford Raffles, who made it a free port, secured for the English Crown this splendid station. The same wise administrator provided for its spiritual development by building a church, now replaced by a more ambitious structure, which is called the cathedral, and in which the present Bishop of Labuan was enthroned, and by the endowment of a college, of which he wrote, "I trust in God that this institution may be the means of civilising and bettering the condition of millions."

In view of the importance of Singapore, with its polyglot population constantly arriving, and, after a short sojourn, departing again, and in consideration of the 300,000 Mahometans who are scattered up and down the Straits, it

must be confessed that the Church of England is not making the most of her opportunities. The mission even of Singapore has been for some time without a head, no suitable priest having been found to take up the varied works, in the midst of which the former missionary, Mr. Venn, fell a victim to cholera.

XI.

"O MIGHTY fortress, when shall these impenetrable brazen gates of thine be broken open?" was the mournful exclamation of Valignani, as he gazed in sadness at the mountains of China. His predecessor, Xavier, foiled in his attempts to set his foot in the heart of the country, had succumbed to fever on the coast of San-cian thirty years before. Those gates have not yet opened; the ramparts stand almost as firm and impregnable as they were three centuries ago; and it is only right to add that the greatest impression that has been made on them is the result of the labours of those who inherited the toil of Valignani and Xavier.

If we are appalled by the thought of India as a land to be won by the Christian soldier, the feeling is intensified when we consider the problem of the evangelisation of China. Of its early history our knowledge is gained almost wholly by inference; of its present condition our information is extremely limited. Its language, although divided only into dialects, and therefore not presenting so many obstacles as do the distinct languages of India, is the most difficult of any—without a phonetic alphabet, each character a separate word, possessing both sound and meaning. Its civilisation, at the same time, is the most ancient in the world; forty centuries ago, thriving and well-ordered communities existed within the limits of the present empire; its scientific axioms passed the mountain barrier which separated it from Hindostan, and were accepted by scholars

in India; while its fabrics and potteries were treasured in the West, just at the time when European empires were slowly being consolidated, as, one by one, they emerged from barbarism.

The people too, cold, practical, unimaginative, living within their own civilisation and despising the outer world as barbarous, needing not the material rampart to seclude them—for already a barrier, not of stone, but of creed and of thought, had effectually cut them off from sympathy with others—what race could be more unpromising? Add to these considerations that the Chinese have had at least three established religions, existing side by side and supported by the State; that these are dominant over an empire whose actual limits are hard to define, and among scarcely fewer than 400,000,000 human beings, and it will be seen that the difficulties in the path of the Christian missionary can hardly be exaggerated.

It is not true that Confucius was the founder of the religion of China as Guadama may be said to have been the founder of Buddhism. Confucius (or Kong-fu-tse, more properly) was born B.C. 551, and was, therefore, for eight years contemporary with Guadama, but he only remodelled the sacred books, which, mostly in a lyrical form, had existed for centuries. These sacred works, it should be observed, have only been accessible to English students within the last ten years, and the triumph of translating and explaining them is due to Dr. Legge, of the London Missionary Society, who has devoted the better part of his life to the task. Confucius was eminently conservative: the sayings which he originated, and which we can now study for ourselves, are pithy and sententious, in some instances magnificent; but he contented himself mainly with inaugurating social reforms, and in urging on prince and peasant implicit reverence for the ancient sacred books. His system was narrow, and its

tendency was to repress activity of thought; his theories, whatever they were, remained in an incomplete state until the end of the twelfth century of our era; then, when in England the Barons were demanding of King John the privileges of Magna Charta, the ethics of Confucius were being moulded into a creed which was simply king-worship. By them the emperor is invested with a sacerdotal as well as with an imperial character; he wears sacrificial robes, and in his own person offers sacrifices in temples, where no subordinate dare officiate. There is in this system no sense of personal demerit; it is, in brief, Pantheism. Sacrifices are offered not merely to the heaven and the earth, but to a host of minor deities, to spirits of the rivers and of the hills, as well as to the stars. The Jesuits in the sixteenth century endeavoured to establish a common ground between Christianity and Confucianism, in a belief in an all-pervading Spirit, but, whatever idea of the kind may have prevailed in the earlier phases of the system, the unity of God had long ceased to form the basis of the Chinese creed.

The second religion of China is Tao-ism, or the religion of the Fixed Way. Its founder, Lao-tse, was born B.C. 604, half a century before Confucius. In striking contrast with him, he resembled Sakya Mouni, in that he despised the practical, and abandoned himself to meditation. Maxims of policy and government he cared not for; but to subdue all mundane thoughts, and to cultivate a longing for the unseen and the eternal, appeared to him to be the supreme duty. "The 'Tao' of Lao-tse, in its exalted meaning, is declared to be entirely void of thought, of consciousness, of judgment, of activity, of intelligence. It is the deification of that one transcendent way by which all beings came at first into existence: it is fixed, impassable, eternal; and in proportion as mankind are more devoted to the doctrines of apathy and inaction, they are said to walk directly in the

Tao, to approach the Tao, and eventually to gain the Tao."* As with Buddhism, so with Tao-ism, the morality inculcated is of a high and attractive type: it leads men to conquer themselves, to ignore natural inclinations and to do good deeds without the slightest sense of satisfaction; in neither system is a righteous God recognised. How or why this religion degenerated from its high aims is not clear; but to the missionaries of the seventeenth century the Tao-ists seemed the most degraded and hopeless of all; though still possessing much power and held in high respect, they had sunk to the level of jugglers and tricksters, and kept the people in subjection by magical arts and soothsaying.

These two religions ran their course in China for some five centuries, and failed equally in satisfying the higher cravings of the soul. About the sixtieth year of the Christian era, just when St. Paul first saw Rome, the fame of Buddhism having reached China, a deputation of mandarins crossed into Northern India for the purpose of learning something more definite about this mysterious creed; they returned with a Hindu teacher, a large stock of books, and a portrait of Guadama; and thus at one step Buddhism became a recognised religion of China. But it was transplanted only to deteriorate, not, indeed, in numbers, for these increased rapidly, and temples and monasteries, the material signs of the zeal of the converts, were multiplied; but in its doctrines the Buddhism of China is the most corrupt of all the forms which that religion has assumed.

Christianity has been offered to China from many sources and at many times. At an early date a Nestorian church established itself in the empire, but it was either uprooted or died out in course of time. The Jesuits commenced their missions in the sixteenth century, and it must be admitted that the largest measure of missionary success in China has

* *Christ and other Masters*, vol. ii. p. 65.

been accorded to the Roman Church, spite of the persecutions to which they have been exposed. They have more than 500 foreign clergy, and a host of natives of different ecclesiastical degrees. To sensuous and materialistic races the objective teaching of Romanism is more acceptable than the abstract method of other bodies; the lives of the Roman missionaries have likewise attracted and impressed the mass: they have become all things to all men, living in the same way, wearing the same garb. In the reredos of the Roman Catholic cathedral the figures of our Lord and the Apostles are all represented in Chinese garb, and their faces are distinctly of the Chinese type; the numerous sisterhoods and societies of religious women in connection with these missions have also contributed largely to the result.

From America and from the London Missionary Society labourers were sent to China before the country was really open to foreigners. The labours of Dr. Legge, of the latter society, in translating and reducing to system the Chinese classics have already been mentioned. Medical missions were adopted in China almost from the first, and have proved a great blessing. In 1844 the Church of the United States determined at the General Convention to appoint three foreign missionary bishops, one of whom should be sent to China. Dr. Boone, who had laboured in Batavia and in Amoy, was consecrated the first bishop, and he determined to make his head-quarters Shanghae, which seemed the best basis of operations from which to reach ultimately the interior of the country. Bishop Boone's labours were continued for twenty years; his life was, indeed, full of varied incidents. Having first studied law, he determined to adopt missionary work as the labour of his life, and that he might be thoroughly qualified for it, he applied himself to the study of medicine. Connected by his marriage with one of the wealthiest families in South Carolina, he never

turned aside from the path which he had chosen; unsparing of himself, wise and judicious, he won the respect of the foreign residents in China, and gained sympathy with his work, for his own sake, from many who had been indifferent to the work itself. In 1866 the Rev. C. M. Williams was consecrated his successor. The American Church has now in China, besides the bishop, nine clergymen, of whom two are natives, and an equal number of lay workers. In 1836 the Church Missionary Society commenced a mission, which languished after four years; and in 1844, when the five ports had been opened by treaty, the society sent two clergymen, one of whom became the first Bishop of Hong Kong, to survey the land and to report on its capabilities. The opening of the five ports gave an impetus to missionary zeal on behalf of China, and an effort was made to give to our missions an episcopal head. An appeal having been made, the required funds were soon provided, £11,000 being the munificent gift of "A Brother and Sister," who chose to remain anonymous. It was determined that the bishop should aim from the first at training a native ministry, and for this purpose a college was established with some portion of the Endowment Fund, of which the bishop was to be the warden.

The first bishop, Dr. George Smith, was an experienced Chinese scholar, and he entered into the pious designs of the founders of the bishopric; his letters-patent gave him "jurisdiction over all persons in Holy Orders of the United Church of England and Ireland living within the dominions of the Emperor of China, or within any ship or vessel not more than one hundred miles from the coast of China;" but he regarded as his great work, not the government of the few chaplains who were stationed in the large cities, but the spread of the Gospel through the heathen land. In 1866 Bishop Smith retired from his see to spend the rest of his days, in enfeebled health, in England. Of

Bishop Alford's episcopate, which dates from February 2, 1867, and which ended in 1871, little can be recorded, as from various circumstances the diocese was deprived of the bishop's presence for more than half of that time. He visited the several chaplaincies, inspected and wrote an interesting report on the capacities of Japan as a field for missions; and he baptized and confirmed the converts whom the missionaries had won; but until the vernacular language has been acquired, no missionary can effectually do his work. The endowment so piously provided will not, it is to be hoped, be allowed to lie idle, and in any future plans that may be formed, the distinctly missionary work, which was contemplated by the donors of the fund, should receive the most scrupulous care.

It is not without much opposition and peril,—nay, not without many martyrdoms,—that missions, as well Roman as others, have been carried on in China; and of our own efforts as a Church we cannot speak without shame. The Church Missionary Society has now in this almost limitless country seventeen ordained clergy, but the trying climate always compels a considerable percentage of this number to be on furlough. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel commenced a medical mission at Pekin in 1863, which was shortly afterwards withdrawn. The prospects, therefore, of our missions in China cannot be said to be bright; we have done enough as a Church to convict us of acknowledging our responsibility, but almost nothing towards fulfilling that responsibility. It should be stated, while we are estimating the various forces at work for the conversion of China, that there has been a Russian mission established at Pekin for more than a hundred and fifty years. It numbers seven ecclesiastical and four lay members, who return to St. Petersburgh after a service of ten years—an unwise system, which removes the labourer just at the very time when he has become, perhaps, inured to the

climate, certainly when he has mastered the language and familiarised himself with the people and their habits.

Of the missions in Japan it is as yet too early to prognosticate the fortune. Opposition, both secret and open, is offered to the spread of Christianity, and the peril of living in a country where life is not valued, and where justice, or that which is so called, is administered recklessly, is very great. The American Church has one missionary there, and the bishop, who has supported him by his presence, looks to the alteration of treaties by which the profession of Christianity will become lawful, as the only ground on which to build hopes of success. The Church Missionary Society has two clergymen in the country, but in their cases also it is too early to look for results. There is a great eagerness on the part of the Japanese to learn English, and they are attracted by English institutions, and this certainly is a great point.

Perhaps we have no right to expect that we can now impose the Christian faith on China, when in our dealings with it as nation with nation we have acquired so evil a reputation. It is only seventy years since Lord Macartney, the representative of the English Crown, commended his countrymen to the Chinese as being a creedless people. "The English never attempt," he said, "to disturb or dispute the religious worship or tenets of others; they have no priests or chaplains with them, as have other European nations." The way in which we forced the opium trade on China, when it was strictly a contraband article; the wars in which we engaged in order to find a market for the deleterious drug; the Thae-ping insurrection, which deluged China with bloodshed and rapine, and which was the result of one of these wars,—these are but sorry credentials for the messenger of the Gospel of Peace.

The "brazen gates" which Valignani apostrophised are

not yet opened—they can hardly be said as yet to have been forced; nevertheless there is hope that one day they may be opened wide, not by European or American missionaries, but by the Chinese themselves. In a literal sense they have been opened, but from within: they have opened, and the Chinese, whose forefathers were content to live within the restricted limits of their antique civilisation, have in recent times gone forth in swarms to the most distant parts of the world. It is hardly exaggeration to say that they are now ubiquitous: everywhere the Chinaman retains his characteristics; he is the same cheerful, civil, industrious toiler, living on what would be scanty support for a native of another land, and speedily becoming a capitalist and an usurer. In his own land he has small inducements to hoard, for as soon as he is known to be worth money he is "squeezed" by the Mandarins: he is requested to make a loan to the Emperor and he dare not refuse, although he knows perfectly well that the loan will never be repaid. We have seen in the preceding paper how he fares in Borneo and Singapore, and how accessible he is to the arguments of the missionary. In temporal matters he does not prosper so well in these regions as when he is farther away from his native land, for he is apt to meddle with politics and to maintain communications with the secret societies of China, which are not favourable to worldly success; but in remoter regions he prospers even in spite of the legislation, which aims specially at his repression and extirpation. In California he is heavily taxed; in Victoria (New South Wales) he is taxed almost to the point of prohibition; in Louisiana, and other Southern States, he is a contraband article altogether; but no protective legislation passed in the interests of native industry can stay the advance of this pushing race. Hindered in one quarter, they not only seek fresh fields, but they persevere until they pass the barrier. In

Columbia they are the washermen, the porters, and the sweepers; in San Francisco, although they are treated as "black-fellows" are in Australia, and their evidence is not taken in causes to which white men are parties, they literally swarm, and their numbers are one-tenth of the whole population; in New South Wales and Queensland, where they are still denied the rights of citizens, they cannot be fewer than 60,000; and in Guiana and India, where they do the hard labour on plantations and railways and drainage works, they are increasing at an extraordinary rate. A Chinaman will make money where others fail: he will wash patiently the dirt from a claim that an Englishman has abandoned, and from the cradle which he has rocked he will bring forth the tiny specks of gold, which will not only provide him with food and shelter, but will add something to his hoard. Skilful mechanics, the Chinese will turn their hands to carpentering or tailoring, and in some countries they have been successful as market gardeners. From these humbler crafts they are working their way upwards, and in the employ of the "*Messageries Imperiales*," and other steam ship companies, Chinese quartermasters and helmsmen are not unfrequently to be found. In the Sandwich Islands thousands of them work as Coolies on the sugar plantations, while in the mission schools of Burmah, Chinese boys are remarkable for their industry and quickness.

Of all the "cheap" races the Chinese are the cheapest: on the scantiest wage, and in spite of contempt and even cruelty, they get through a large amount of work, and it will puzzle legislation to repress their energy and their emigrating instinct. And the remarkable thing about them is, that they all look to return to their native land; the money which they hoard is to be spent in their beloved celestial home. It is this that makes them so important in a missionary point of view. Hated by the whites, who regard

them as a pack of lying, pilfering, effeminate heathen, they may in many instances carry back with them only over true stories of cruelty, injustice, and bullying, as their experience of "civilisation;" but they may carry back tidings of better things. To this end they must be sought out by the missionary: their instinct is to herd together in a "Chinese quarter," just as the Irish do in large towns in England, and if they are left uncared for, their presence is made known from time to time by crimes of blackest dye; but, as has been before stated, they are singularly open to religious impressions. The only country in which the missionaries report badly of them is Columbia, and there the few clergy seem to be so fully occupied by their labours among the colonists and the aborigines as to have had no time to care for the Chinese; but where they have received attention, the report is uniformly favourable. In Australia they are declared by the police authorities to be "the best of citizens," while the bishops and clergy mention not only their willingness to receive instruction, but to communicate to their friends that which they have received. In Guiana they compare favourably with Christians of other races, and of their doings in Borneo we have already written.

Therefore we may well ask, Is it impossible that the evangelisation of the mysterious Chinese Empire shall one day be accomplished, not by the immediate action of foreign missionaries, but by the labours of its own sons, who have received the truth in the strange countries whither they have been attracted in the order of Providence by the love of gain, and have returned to their fatherland wealthy, not in the possession simply of the reward of their toil but of the higher and truer riches? Two captive youths in the fourth century were the means of converting Abyssinia, and there is nothing impossible, or even improbable, in the conjecture which has been hazarded of the ultimate conversion of China.

XII.

St. Peter's Day, 1847, marked a great epoch for the English Church, for on that day in the Abbey of Westminster, in the presence of eleven bishops, representing both the home and the colonial sees, four men, each possessing singular gifts and graces, and for each of whom there were prospects sufficiently bright to have tempted him to remain at home, were solemnly set apart for the then scarcely known trials and labours of the colonial episcopate. There had been no such day in the previous history of the Church, and it is literally true that no such day has since been witnessed. It was the fruit of that far-seeing effort of Bishop Blomfield, who in 1840 called the attention of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the fact that in our colonies we were laying the foundation of future empires, while in spiritual things, by accepting the legal idea of the Caroline Order in Council,—by which all British subjects in foreign parts were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London,—we were practically spreading a Presbyterian form of religion, and taking no securities even for its permanence. At that time there were only ten colonial sees,—viz., four in America, three in India, two in the West Indies, and one in Australia; and of these five were supported by imperial or colonial funds. In 1841 the Bishopric of New Zealand was established, the first fruits of Bishop Blomfield's appeal; in the following year the Dioceses of Tasmania and Gibraltar

received their first bishops, and that of Barbadoes was sub-divided into Guiana and Antigua. In 1845 the province of New Brunswick was separated from Nova Scotia, and Dr. Medley became first Bishop of Fredericton; and now, in 1847, Capetown, Adelaide, Melbourne, and Newcastle, were added to the roll of our colonial sees. This is not the place in which to show the wisdom of doing the Church's work in the Church's own way, neither need we apply the logic of figures to prove that in all of these dioceses the clergy have been multiplied again and again, and that three out of the four original dioceses have been formed into others. In this paper we deal with the labours of Bishop Gray and of his clergy, first in the whole of Southern Africa, and subsequently in the more restricted area of the Diocese of Capetown, an area nevertheless somewhat larger than that of Great Britain.

In going to South Africa as a Christian prelate, the bishop went to a moral wilderness. The colony had been a British possession for more than forty years. The Dutch had left visible signs of their occupancy, as they had in the preceding century in India, in churches and clergymen, and by our treaty with them their religious establishment was supported by Government funds. In the eastern province the Church Missionary Society had sent a missionary to the Zulus, who, in the then unsettled state of the country, was obliged to return to England after a brief sojourn. In the whole diocese at the time of Bishop Gray's consecration there were only thirteen clergymen, of whom eight were supported by the colonists and two were military chaplains. And at that time the mother country was sending out emigrants at the rate of 50,000 per annum to the colony, and no spiritual provision was made for them. For the Hottentots and the Mahometans no one cared; but the latter were zealous for the spread of their

own faith, and instances were not wanting in which English Christians apostatised and became followers of the false prophet.

Bishop Gray sailed for Africa very shortly after his consecration with a staff such as, whether we regard the numbers, the faith, or the ability of its members, few modern bishops have been so fortunate as to attract to themselves. In 1848 he made his first visitation, which lasted four months, from August to December, travelling in a waggon by day, and letting down the back of the seat when it became necessary to convert it into a bed at nightfall. After six weeks' journeying he reached Grahamstown. It is hardly necessary, save for the purpose of contrasting what was with what is, to record at this distance of time the state of things with which he met. In the district to which emigrants mostly resorted he found at one spot a population of 1,500, who were not within sixty miles of a church. On this his first journey the bishop visited an English family, whose child, almost at the point of death, was practically as the heathen, not knowing what prayer was. On another occasion an English lady told him that she had lived thirty-eight years in Africa, and had never seen the face of a clergyman. We would not multiply instances such as these, although we might easily do so; but we must not ignore the fact that wherever the bishop went, the prospect of the Church being brought within their reach cheered the settlers, who had long been deprived of her ministrations. One farmer walked a distance of 180 miles in order that he might be confirmed, and his case was by no means a singular one. Neither may we omit to mention that the bishop was always an honoured guest at the mission-stations of those religious bodies who had been long in the field. Moravians, Independents, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, not only received him with hospitality and kindness, but in some instances openly declared

their satisfaction at the new life visible in the Church in South Africa.

It was while he was on this visitation that Bishop Gray had an interview with Sandili, Kreli, Umhala, and other Kafir chiefs, and so laid the foundation of those missions which, under the care of successive bishops of Grahamstown, have been so successful. The country was only just then delivered from the third Kafir war, and after an interval of three years—a golden time when so much might have been done for their civilisation had only there been men and money—the fourth Kafir war broke out. In 1850 the bishop had completed the fourth visitation of his diocese, the last journey occupying nine months, and extending to the Orange Free State, Natal, Kaffraria, and Grahamstown. On this occasion he prepared an elaborate scheme for the benefit of the heathen population in Natal, and he left that colony "full of hopes and fears for the future." After an episcopate of three years, in which he had visited not merely the whole of the continental portion of his diocese, but had also found time to reach St. Helena—the first bishop who had ever set foot on that island—he could witness the growth of the Church on all sides. The clergy were quadrupled, churches were being erected, the colonists were becoming alive to their duty of seconding their bishop's efforts. A diocesan college school was established near Capetown, a mission to the Mahometans in and around that city was in working order, and other schemes were in course of preparation for the evangelisation of the hostile and ignorant Kafirs and the more hopeful and docile Zulus.

In 1853 the diocese was divided, and the sees of Grahamstown and Natal were established, and the hopes of commencing work among the heathen tribes seemed to be in a fair way of being realised. Meanwhile the country

continued in a most unsettled condition, mutterings of war being heard only too plainly, and raids were made by Kafirs and avenged by the colonists, to the perpetuation of old feuds and the increase of the evil feeling that already existed. The colony was fortunate in having for its Governor Sir George Grey, who having already done great things in New Zealand, and shown a singular aptitude for dealing with the native races, was now prepared to follow the same wise and humane policy in South Africa. It was an eminently economical policy likewise. He determined to spend £45,000 per annum for the civilisation of the native races. Of this the colonial funds could only contribute £5,000, and the balance was drawn from the imperial treasury. It was a large sum, but it was rather less than the annual cost of a single regiment, and bore no proportion to the cost of another Kafir war, which could only be warded off by a policy of pacification. The missionary institutions which were thus founded by the bishops, in conjunction with the Government, were within the limits generally of the dioceses of Grahamstown and Natal, and will be mentioned at greater length in another paper; but at the time that such admirable schemes were being matured for the more distant and barbarous parts of the colony, the Bishop of Capetown was enabled, also by the aid of the Governor, to found the college at Zonnebloem. To this place was transferred the diocesan school, which had now existed for some years. The estate of Zonnebloem cost £6,000, of which the bishop raised £3,500, and the Governor provided the balance, and vested the freehold in the Bishops of Capetown for ever. The institution then became both a college for the education of the sons of chiefs and other great men among the Kafirs, and also an industrial school for lads taken from a lower stratum in Kafir society. Some of its scholars have been sent to

England to complete their education and to lay in a stock of enlarged ideas; but the experiment is not without hazard, for our fickle climate seems to develop any tendency that they may have to consumption, and some have died in this country, and others have returned in haste to save their lives. Those who have gone forth from Zonnebloem to missionary work have done well; they have proved themselves both faithful and intelligent, and in their stations, in the midst of their own people, have had influence such as no white teacher can ever hope to possess. Although the college is in the Diocese of Capetown, the Kafir scholars have to go out of its limits to find congregations of their own race. In the industrial department a great and visible triumph is gained if a Kafir, who in his native state finds his supreme happiness in lying in the sun or smoking in his hut, while his womankind do just enough work to provide for his few needs, can be brought to appreciate the dignity of labour. They make good carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers, and they are not without some artistic tastes; and when one reads of Kafir lads getting prizes for drawing or carving at the Capetown School of Art, one feels that the old and the new are indeed brought in contact, and there is little need of the gift of prophecy to say which will prevail.

Before this point of time of which we are now writing, the bishop, who had been made metropolitan, had established a Diocesan Synod. In 1859 the see of St. Helena had been founded, the work among the colonists had been pushed on, and a feeling of self-help had been elicited. Work among the colonists also implied increased care for the coloured people, whether heathen or Christian; for in this diocese it is rare to find a congregation wholly white or wholly coloured.

In Capetown itself the work of the Rev. T. F. Lightfoot

among the Hottentot and the heathen had outgrown all the limits of existing buildings; and in the far west of the diocese, in Namaqua Land, more than 300 miles from the city of Capetown, a heterogeneous population had been drawn together by the establishment of copper mines, which are still being worked, and in connection with which a railroad has been made, which conveys the ore over the sandy plains to the sea. For these people the bishop had to provide clergymen and churches.

In 1859 Dr. Livingstone's appeal turned the attention of the Church to Central Africa; and when, in 1861, Archdeacon Mackenzie, having just arrived from England, was consecrated on the Feast of the Circumcision to the work to which he devoted the rest of his days, not the least of his comforts was the fact that from Mr. Lightfoot's flock he could select three Christian companions, natives of the region to which he was bound, and from which they had been torn in childhood by slavers, and had afterwards been emancipated by British ships of war.

We say nothing of the noble struggle which Bishop Gray has waged unflinchingly with heresy and false doctrine. He has been called on, not only to spread the truth, but to defend it when attacked; his episcopate has been a troubled one, but it has been a glorious one. Nowhere, not even in New Zealand, has there been a growth and development of the Church so rapid, so extended, and so wisely consolidated; and yet it is of such a man as this that it has been said that he cared more for building up the system of the English Church than for converting the heathen. He succeeded to a heritage of neglect, and found the colonists professedly Christian, yet living on the verge of heathenism. How he travelled thousands of miles in a country where the roads were of the most primitive kind, and means of locomotion difficult; how he encouraged

struggling congregations to help themselves; how he pledged his own private resources munificently for the good of the Church; how his forethought, almost without the aid of others' counsel, laid the foundations on which the existing missions have been built up,—these things we have already mentioned. It is to his master mind, under God, that the present state of things is to be attributed. For five years he toiled alone. The gigantic diocese over which he journeyed was too vast for any one man to guide or care for. Within sixteen years from the date of his own consecration it was divided and subdivided, until the single episcopal chair in the city of Capetown had grown into six bishoprics; another, the Diocese of Zululand, has since been added. Instead of the thirteen clergy whom he found in the whole of South Africa in 1848, there are now 132, of whom fifty-one are in the Diocese of Capetown. Provincial and diocesan synods are in full operation; the property of the Church is vested in the synod of the province, and full facilities are possessed for the extension of the episcopate at any time when circumstances may seem to require it.

The work of self-devoted women among the fallen and the ignorant, which is one of the most hopeful signs of our own increased life at home, has been introduced into Capetown. Many ladies live together in a common home, and devote themselves, under the bishop's guidance, to the suffering and the sorrowful; while another lady, Miss Arthur, has for many years conducted an Orphanage, which she supports from her own resources and with the help of her friends in England. Such a tale of work, wisely conceived and patiently accomplished, is, indeed, without parallel. There is one epithet which truly describes the labours of the first Bishop of South Africa: they have been "unwearied." Other terms may fitly be applied to them, vary-

ing with the point from which they are regarded; but altogether, independently of their magnitude, or their wisdom, or their fidelity, from the day when the burthen of the episcopate was first imposed on him, in the judgment of all who are qualified to speak of them, the labours of Bishop Gray have been "unwearied."

Alas! that even as we write tidings are brought which forbid us to speak henceforth of the labours of this great Confessor and Prelate except as of things that are past. On Sept. 1, 1872, he entered into rest, and two days later was followed to his grave by a concourse of sincere mourners, of many races and of divers creeds, such as has rarely assembled at the tomb of any man. There is nothing to be added in these pages: other pens will doubtless write the memoir of one who has filled so high a place, to the glory of GOD and for the good of man. It is only simple truth to say that Robert Gray has been the founder of the Church of South Africa, and this is no mean epitaph.

XIII.

While Bishop Gray was engaged single-handed in preparing his plans for the conversion of the heathen of Africa, a movement was originated in England which aimed at the more adequate dealing with fallen but penitent women. The design was conceived in the hearts of two or three men living apart, and, until the common aim brought them together, unknown to each other; but the one man who was especially the means of raising the work of guiding female penitents from the level of a task performed by a paid servant to the height of a labour of love rendered for God's sake by self-devoted women,—the one man who substituted for the old-fashioned penitentiaries, which in their grim aspect and stern code of regulations resembled closely the Union or the Gaol, the more attractive and appropriate "Homes" or "Houses of Mercy,"—was called away from the schemes, then only developing into realities, to be the first Bishop of Grahamstown.

When it had been suggested that he should give up parochial work and become the first warden of a new House of Mercy, such as he had proposed to establish, he wrote,—

"I assure you, by God's help, I only want to see my way; could I be convinced that I ought to undertake it, I will, by God's help, accept the post. As regards wife and children, a point on which I am most anxious, I will now only say that whatever is a father's providential course, I believe is the providential course of wife and children." When called on to undertake the labours of the episcopate,

he took counsel with his friends; and to one he wrote, "I need not say what a trial it is to go, but I hope and trust I shall go with a good heart." Such was the man: recognising in all things the hand of Divine Providence, and willing in all things to be guided by it unreservedly.

The south-eastern coast of Africa runs diagonally from S.W. to N.E., and the limits of the Diocese of Grahamstown, as defined in the letters-patent, commenced at the Great River, about longitude 25° E., and extended to the Keiskamma River, a distance along the coast of about 180 miles as the crow flies; eastward of this river there lies the province of British Kaffraria, a wedge of country in the shape of an equilateral triangle, the base being the coast-line of about eighty miles; on the east of the River Kei, the boundary of British Kaffraria, the territory of Independent Kaffraria, with a coast-line of 180 miles, reaches to the colony of Natal, whose south-western limit is the River Umzinkulu. The breadth of these tracts of country inland varies from about 150 to 300 miles: numerous rivers run into the sea at right angles to the coast, and add much to the fertility of the soil as well as to the difficulties of travelling. It was over this vast area that Bishop Armstrong aimed at establishing mission stations; he was not content with the legal limits of his diocese; in his own words the Church's duty was "to break bounds"; the surrounding country claimed his care, and in the interests both of religion and of peace, under the newly-established British rule, he was bound to regard the whole territory as his diocese. Thus the bishop was brought face to face with the various races,—Kafirs, Hottentots, Fingoes, Dutch, and English. Moravians, Wesleyans, Presbyterians, had all been in the field before the Church of England; and the Moravians, by their simple devotion and practical wisdom, had made a great impression. The way for the bishop had

been well prepared by the handful of clergy who had been his pioneers; especially Archdeacon Merriman (who has since been entrusted with the rule of the diocese) had, from the date of his first coming from England with Bishop Gray, been most active in travelling from one end to the other of his future diocese, and had acquired among the Dutch the title of "The Walking Predikant." But the time had now come in which mission work, if it was to be ever done, must be commenced on a large scale. The wise proposals of Sir George Grey, mentioned in the preceding paper, were submitted to Bishop Armstrong, and, as may be imagined, were warmly approved by him. No less a sum than £45,000 per annum was offered to the Church of England, on the stipulation that men and money were forthcoming on her part to utilise the lands and buildings thus placed at her disposal. It was a time of crisis: Bishop Armstrong had no funds of his own, but he pledged the Church of England to an expenditure of £4,000 per annum. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel undertook the responsibility which the bishop had assumed. The time was not propitious; men's minds were occupied with the events of the Crimean war, which were just then especially disastrous. The appeal came in the middle of that terrible winter of 1854–5, when our soldiers were starved and frozen on the heights of Sebastopol, and when, in addition to the unusual burden of increased taxation and provisions at war prices, private benevolence was likewise heavily taxed throughout the United Kingdom; but the venture so made in faith there never was reason to regret; the money was forthcoming, and the missions were established. Sir George Grey's scheme included a mission to the Basutos, who live within the limits of the Orange Free State; but this part of the plan was not realised. Bishop Armstrong first accomplished the establishment of missions to the Amakoso

Kafirs, who, to the number of 90,000, were divided into three tribes under the chiefs Umhala, Sandili, and Kreli. Umhala had been visited by the Bishop of Capetown in 1850, and, probably on that account, had not joined in the war which was subsequently waged against our occupation. On the occasion of that interview he had asked the bishop to send him a teacher, and now he was informed by Bishop Armstrong that the promise was fulfilled. He pledged himself to protect the missionaries and to send the people to their schools. In addition to the three missions just mentioned, a fourth was established at Grahamstown itself, and placed under the care of a Berlin missionary, who had sought and obtained episcopal orders. But the guiding hand that was to direct these extending works was soon withdrawn, and in 1856 Bishop Armstrong's brief episcopate of little more than two years was terminated by death.

His successor, Bishop Cotterill, lost no time in taking up the work of the diocese; but now things were not so promising. A terrible delusion stalked through the land: the missionaries had not had time to impress Christian truths on any considerable number of the people, for the Kafir is not susceptible of fresh influences, although very stable when won. The civilisation of such a people will probably precede anything like a general conversion; although their very name, given to them in scorn by the Mahometans, means infidel, they are much given to meditation on spiritual subjects, and have a large share of that superstition which is the shadow of faith. They lay much stress on visions and omens, and grope in a stumbling manner after the resurrection of the dead and the truths which surround that mystery. In June, 1856, within a month of Bishop Armstrong's decease, a Kafir named Umhlakaza, living near the mouth of the Kei River, related the dreams of a girl who professed to have heard the voices of dead chiefs commanding the

Kafirs to kill all their cattle, and promising that when this was accomplished, the forefathers of the race and all their herds would come to life again, and the corn-pits would be filled without effort.

Strange to say, in a pastoral country whose sole wealth consists of flocks and herds, this crusade was preached with dire effect: maize and millet were thrown away, and the cattle were slaughtered as fast as was possible, the traders making a good harvest for the time by buying hides at nominal prices. Meanwhile the spirit of witchcraft was awakened, and an unusual drought, which prevailed for months, drove people to the *Rain-doctor*. One of these impostors, seeing the clouds gathering, promised Umhala, for four cows, to bring rain; the contact with missionaries had made the chief a sceptic, but after a while he compounded for one ox, and a thunderstorm followed, but accompanied with little rain. Just as gipsies in England explain their failures by the fact that the hand has not been crossed by a silver coin of sufficient value, so the deficiency of rain was attributed to the shabby proportions of the chief's offering. Mr. Greenstock, a missionary, gained some credit by predicting an eclipse of the moon in October, and the more so because the seer, who had obtained an inkling of it, had fixed it for August. January 11, 1857, was the night fixed for the resurrection of the chiefs and their cattle, and by that time the land was brought to the very verge of famine by the terrible destruction of their herds and corn. Chiefs as well as people wandered about picking up a precarious livelihood; but vast numbers of the people died from actual starvation. Their dead bodies lay by the roadside with the famine-belt drawn tightly round them in sad testimony of their sufferings. Some of the adults came into British territory and hired themselves as servants, and the children were received in large numbers at the missions.

Out of this terrible visitation much good arose. The people saw through their infatuation, and were drawn by the kindness which they had received to the missionaries. Occasion was taken, therefore, to plant more missions; two of those already founded were abandoned and the establishments transferred to other sites, the people in whose midst they had been originally placed having migrated in a body. In the year 1859 eight large missions had been founded, and at the present time the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has thirteen distinct missions among the various Kafir tribes, Amakoso, Tambookies, Amapondo, Amapondamisi, Amakoko, and the Fingoes. These now extend and form a continuous line of outposts from the city of Grahamstown itself to Griqua Land, where the recent efforts of Bishop Macrorie and Dr. Callaway have thrown out an offshoot from Highflats to Clydesdale, some thirty miles distant. One native, Paulus Masiza, has been ordained, but he died shortly afterwards. At Grahamstown itself the Kafir Institution, which it was once a hard matter to supply with scholars, is now so popular that admission is gained only after a competitive examination, which promises well for the supply of native catechists and clergy. The plan on which these missions are worked is not in all cases uniform. In some the Kafirs live round the headquarters, in others they are scattered in kraals, six or eight miles away: in all a spirit of self-help is evoked; in all the daily service is held, and the work of teaching by native catechists is carried on unceasingly. Their little chapels, which are required by those who live at a distance from the central station, are built by themselves and at their own cost. Discipline—the lack of which the Church at home mourns—is carried out firmly and wisely. There seems no attempt to denationalise the converts; for the adoption of civilised habits, both in clothing and furniture, seems to

follow naturally on their accepting Christianity. One of the missionaries, who prides himself on being no smoker, has attempted, foolishly it may be thought, to deprive his converts of that which is the solace of the majority of men, civilised and uncivilised, all over the world. The present Bishop of Grahamstown is not likely to lend his authority to this exercise of discipline; for in the very interesting journal of his recent visitation to Kafirland he describes how he took possession of a hut for the night, and "when we had spread our blankets under us, after a pipe over the fire, we went to sleep."

It has already been stated that the Kafirs are a stolid race, not very easily impressed, but that when an impression has been made it is lasting. They take readily to the regular life which they lead on the mission lands, and appreciate the fixed hours for labour and for worship. The Wesleyans and the Scotch Presbyterians conduct their missions on a similar plan, as being eminently adapted to the people. The Psalter is a great power among the Kafirs; their pastoral habits have led them to assimilate the spirit of the words of the shepherd king, and in some instances they have written many hymns, which, with all the disadvantages of being translated, are far above the average of our English hymns.

To live in a delightful climate under a bright sky, in a well-watered country, and where rain neither falls frequently nor is required to fall frequently; to deal with a simple, intelligent people, and to see them following one's teaching; to be removed from a conventional state of things and to inhale the fresh air of a primitive state of society, where the laws of etiquette are unknown,—surely this is an attractive picture; and it may be thought that a missionary in South Africa is a fortunate man, whose life is but a prolonged picnic in a perpetual summer. But his career is not without

its hardships. The pleasures of living among semi-savages are apt to pall, and even the restraints of civilised life begin, after a time, to have more attractions than once they possessed. The feeling of isolation from men of like mind, the utter deprivation of all discussion on indifferent subjects,—these, in time, become great trials to a man, unless he can derive all the support he needs from things unseen. It is a trial to a man, who is impressed by the surrounding scene, to live for years on the arid Karroo, where all is glare and scorching sun above and white stones and dried-up sticks on the ground. One clergyman states, without a word of complaint, but as an unusual fact, that until the Bishop of Capetown visited Namaqua Land lately, he had not seen the face of a brother clergyman for five years. The missionaries who are now settled with some measure of comfort among the Kafirs have lived for years, either in the bee-hive huts of their people, or in wattle-and-daub erections, the work of their own hands; and in all cases, to their credit be it said, they have built their churches before they have begun the permanent mission-house. Camp life is attractive to read of, and, to a certain extent, pleasant to lead; but heat and dirt, and scanty food and doubtful water, to say nothing of the inseparable mishaps of travel, become in time a burden. It was no idle complaint, but a simple record of fact, when Bishop Armstrong entered in his diary,—

"I get used to dirt, and eat and drink without looking: it certainly is a trial."

Of the difficulties which must ever accompany missionary work it is not necessary to write a word.

Bishop Cotterill, after a service of fifteen years in Africa, has been summoned to take his place in the College of Bishops of the Church in Scotland. One immediate result of his translation is likely to be the establishment by that

Church of a bishopric in Independent Kaffraria, which is equal in area to the whole of Scotland. No better wish can be offered for that venerable communion, which gave to America the first of the sacred line who now preside over the Church of the United States, than that, according to her means, she may send forth to all parts of the world messengers of those truths and stewards of those mysteries, which, in spite of persecution and contempt, it has been her privilege to maintain and to dispense to the faithful in her own land.

XIV.

The area of the colony of Natal is about one-third of that of England and Wales; the extent, therefore, of the diocese, which is conterminous with the colony, is not so considerable as that of many others; but from the very first, as well from force of circumstances as from the wishes of the mission staff, the territorial limits of the diocese have been disregarded, and the work of evangelisation has been pushed forward in all directions. To the north-west, where the Quathlamba range separates the colony from the Free State, the whole country has been, if not occupied, at least surveyed with a view to missionary occupation; to the south-west our stations have extended into Griqua Land and Independent Kaffraria, until, as has been shown in the preceding paper, they complete the chain of outposts which have been thrown out from Grahamstown; and in the north-east the missions which were early established across the Tugela River among the Zulus have now their own bishop, and under his energetic direction are rapidly spreading northward. It must be remembered that Natal did not become an English colony until 1845. Before that date, circumstances had at various times caused it to receive a population differing in race and in creed: Romanists and Wesleyans had long ago established their missions, and the Dutch had, of course, brought with them the ministers of their faith; but the immediate cause of the mixed population of Natal was the atrocious cruelty of three chiefs of

Zululand—Chaka, Dingaarn, and Panda. In 1828 the two first-named of these became a terror to the few English settlers who even then had ventured into that little-known country. There were in Natal at that time the remnant of the aboriginal tribes, who had fled into the woods as often as Chaka made incursions into the country; these forays were of such frequent occurrence that the land was utterly laid waste and well-nigh depopulated, and, as its value was nominal, in a moment of generosity the bloodthirsty chief gave what is the present colony of Natal to an English settler. He again passed through it in 1829 on his way to Independent Kaffraria, and on his return from this foray he was killed by one of his brothers named Umslaangen, who, together with his followers, was shortly afterwards massacred by the more infamous brother Dingaarn. In 1834 the Dutch, who were the earliest settlers in Africa, and who had enslaved both the aboriginal Hottentots and the Malays and negroes whom they had imported, disgusted with the humane legislation which made slavery penal throughout the British dominions, quitted their farms and established themselves north of the Orange River. Coveting, however, a territory with a more fertile soil, and nearer to the sea-board, they thought to obtain it from Dingaarn by a display of force. During the three or four years which they spent in making up their sluggish minds, matters had somewhat changed in Zululand. Captain Allen Gardiner, an officer of the Royal Navy, a man of much zeal, but not gifted with an equal share of practical wisdom, had visited Dingaarn, and had found such favour in his eyes that he made him an offer of the whole colony of Natal, an act that would have been more munificent if the territory had not been already surrendered by his elder brother some years before to another Englishman. Captain Gardiner used his influence with the chief to secure the reception by him of the Rev.

F. Owen, who was sent by the Church Missionary Society in 1837. When, then, the Dutch Boers in the following year thought by a military display to obtain from Dingaarn a grant of land such as had been offered to Gardiner, the only result of their policy was to irritate the savage; by craft he inveigled a number of them into his power, and seventy of the Boers were murdered in cold blood, with many of their children and the Hottentot servants.

Of the remnant who were still living in the Orange Free State, many put their all into their waggons and crossed the Quathlamba range into Natal, where there was an English representative, Sir Benjamin Durban. The atrocities of Dingaarn continued to send his Zulus over the Tugela into Natal, and he also sent his troops into that district to harry the settlers. Terrible bloodshed ensued, but after a long struggle the Zulus were beaten. The settlers made a treaty with Dingaarn to receive no more of his "deserters," as he called them, "refugees" as they should have been called, on condition that those who had already escaped from him should not be claimed. The terms were agreed upon, Captain Gardiner acting for the English; many, however, continued to pass into the colony whom Captain Gardiner, with an overstrained sense of obligation, sent back to the tyrant, who put them to a lingering death. The desertions continued: indeed the colonists, who were in great need of labourers, secretly encouraged the Zulus to come to them; and Captain Gardiner sent them back, but now with a request that they might be put to death "speedily." At length the point was reached beyond which even his conscience could not refuse to yield, and the demand for their "extradition" was refused. The Rev. F. Owen had left the country in the midst of these disasters, and the Church Missionary Society has never resumed its work in these regions. The Dutch meanwhile established themselves in Natal, and built the town of Pieter

Maritzburg. They formed themselves into a free republic, under the protection of the King of Holland. After many disputes they were driven out by the English, and settled north of the Orange River, a district which was then known as "The Sovereignty," where, as being on British ground, they acknowledged the Queen of England as their sovereign, while they were nevertheless allowed to make their own laws. Others again made a second migration over the River Vaal, where they formed an independent republic. In 1845 Natal became a British colony, and in 1854 the English Government withdrew from the Sovereignty, which henceforward was called "The Orange Free State." Thus we can account for the various races with which Natal is peopled—the aborigines, the Zulus, the Dutch, the Hottentots, and the English; over the borders, towards Kaffraria, we have the Griquas, a half-caste people, while the progress of commercial enterprise has introduced Coolies, speaking Hindustani, Tamil, and Telugu, from different parts of India.

It has already been mentioned that Romanists and Wesleyans established missions long before the Church of England did so; the same may be said of the Moravians, —those ever-toiling patient pioneers,—the Lutherans, the Independents, and the Americans. A preceding paper has shown how the Bishop of Capetown visited this part of his diocese soon after his consecration, but not until every penny which had been placed at his disposal, and very much of his own private moneys, had been pledged. In 1853 the Rev. J. W. Colenso was consecrated first Bishop of Natal, and he immediately left England to make a visit of inspection, in order the better to realise the wants of his diocese. Returning within six months, he applied himself to the raising of the requisite funds. In 1855 he had established three missionary stations, being large estates on which the natives would be allowed to settle, and, in daily contact with English

teachers, would imbibe both civilisation and Christianity: he had also founded two lesser missions to the heathen. With great energy he applied himself to the study of the language, and compiled a Zulu dictionary. He had fellow-labourers of unusual gifts: one was Archdeacon Mackenzie, who was the head of a large training institution at Ekukanyeni—"Home of Light;" another, the Rev. R. Robertson, has since made himself a reputation as a missionary of the patriarchal type in Zululand; while a third, Dr. Callaway, as missionary, physician, farmer, printer, ethnologist, and philologist, has built up a work of an altogether unusual character in the south-west part of the district, across the River Umkomanzi. The missions in Zululand were so promising and attractive, that Bishop Colenso wished to give up his residence and his work in the colony, and to superintend them in person. At length it was determined that Archdeacon Mackenzie should have the charge of them, and in 1859 he came to England to consult with the authorities at home. At that very time Livingstone was enlisting the enthusiasm of Churchmen in the interests of Central Africa, and Mackenzie was summoned to work in those regions, to which he dedicated the remnant of his unselfish life, and in which his body awaits the great Easter morning.

It was when matters were thus full of promise that there came that sad cloud which checked growth, which chilled faith and love, and caused bitter pain to many hearts as well in England as in Africa. We have no wish in these pages to dwell on this miserable affair or on its consequences. Supposing that Bishop Colenso is the subject of special enlightenment and the recipient of certain truths, a knowledge of which has been denied to the great body of Christian people in all lands and in all ages, one fact is clear, that the bargain to which in 1853 he was a consenting

party has not been kept, and that his teaching, irrespective of its truth or falsity, is not the teaching which he was commissioned, and which he undertook to deliver. Of the sad and disastrous results to the diocese, where in the presence of a heathen majority Christians were struggling and contending for the possession of churches, and the little flock was split into rival camps, we do not care to write; of the evil results, which were felt in England, there is no need to write, for they are too well known. Men's courage was tested and tried; they had to make their choice between the judgment of civil courts on dry technical questions of law and the integrity of the truth of God. At length, after every conceivable artifice had been used to prevent it, the consecration of Bishop Macrorie on the Festival of the Conversion of St. Paul, 1869, in the cathedral at Capetown, as "Bishop of the Church in Natal and Zululand, in communion with the Bishops of the Province of South Africa, and with the Church of England," gave to the faithful in those countries a leader and a spiritual father. It is not pretended that this appointment has allayed all the bitter feeling that existed, or has won all to the truth,—a result so very desirable was never for a moment expected; but it is undeniable that the faithful have been encouraged to fresh efforts and greater sacrifices, that new stations have been opened, and that the missions to the heathen have been extended. From the first, Bishop Macrorie has acted on the determination which he formed, to seek no redress from courts of law. Dr. Colenso has seized on the churches and parsonages which in some instances had been built by the very hands of the clergy thus dispossessed, but all has been endured. Lately an attempt has been made to divert the property of the Church from the purposes to which it was devoted in perpetuity; new churches have had to be erected out of scanty funds, and they are well filled and highly

valued by the people who have erected them for their own use and for the glory of God.

The missions in Zululand now form a distinct diocese, and deserve a special notice. The Mission of Spring Vale, founded by Dr. Callaway in 1858, is a cheering instance of success. It was planted on an estate containing about 3,000 acres, and Dr. Callaway lived at first in a bee-hive hut which the Kafirs made for him: he then taught them how to build for him a square cottage of wattle-and-daub, and, having established himself and his family therein, he set to work to teach them higher things. Of useful arts they knew nothing: their agriculture was limited to scratching the ground with a hoe; their grass huts were foul, miserable hives, about seven feet high, without chimney, window, or door. Polygamy was a recognised institution among the people; their religion was limited to a dark superstition. God was to them a fetish, and their profoundest faith was given to the medicine-man and the rain-doctor. Dr. Callaway is no ordinary man: he did not limit his views of his duty to merely spiritual labours, neither did he think, as some missionaries conceive, that he had it in charge to run a tilt against decent clothing and other tokens of advancing civilisation. On the contrary, he endeavoured to raise his people socially, to get them to build better houses, to become more skilful herdsmen and shepherds, to till the land more intelligently, to substitute comely garments for tattered blankets and ridiculous head-gear; he gave them medicine when they were sick (he is himself a physician by education and by diploma), and was not above acting as a veterinary surgeon when their cattle were ailing. Then he taught them to use spade and plough, to make sod fences, to mould bricks, and to lay them when burnt, and to thatch their houses. This instruction inspired them with respect for their teacher, who did not neglect other things. Daily

services in Kafir and English, daily schools for adults and children, constant catechisings and direct teaching, to say nothing of the influence of the daily life of a Christian family, were not without results. Dr. Callaway's medical knowledge was, and is, in great demand, and a "hospice" forms part of the group of buildings at Spring Vale. The work of translation and printing has been diligently followed: the whole of the Book of Common Prayer has been translated, and the greater part of it is in type. The New Testament, more than half of the Pentateuch, the Books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, are all translated, and most of them have been printed, very large grants for the press-work having been made by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Dr. Callaway has also translated and printed many hymns, both English into Zulu, and the hymns of his converts (for, as was mentioned in the preceding paper, they compose hymns of real merit) into English. In the midst of occupations so manifold, he has refreshed his mind by investigations into the folk-lore, the ethnology and the philology of the people for whom he has done so much,—and his contributions to our knowledge of these sciences have been appreciated by European *savants*.

The mission at Spring Vale has thrown out off-shoots, which promise in time to rival in vigour the parent stock. The first new station was at Highflats, some few miles to the westward: here is now stationed the Rev. Thurston Button, whose whole life, with the exception of the time spent at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, has been passed in South Africa; he can therefore speak Kafir as perfectly as his mother-tongue. Some thirty miles still further westward, at Clydesdale, an estate of 4,500 acres, in the midst of a large Griqua population, work has been begun akin to that which, fifteen years ago, Dr. Callaway began at Spring Vale. This is our furthest outpost in this direction, and efforts must be made to occupy the intervening space between it and the

stations already mentioned as having been pushed on to the eastward from Grahamstown.

On the 4th Sunday in Advent, 1871, Dr. Callaway had the pleasure of presenting to Bishop Macrorie as candidates for Holy Orders two natives, whom he had known for more than eighteen years, and who for a long time had been engaged as catechists, and had brought many of their countrymen to Christianity. Their names are Umpengula Mbanda, and William Ngewensa; they are both men of superior abilities, and possess a large share not only of biblical knowledge, but also of general information. The examination which they passed is ample proof of their intellectual fitness; while their power of preaching in idiomatic phrase makes them far more useful as evangelists than any foreigner could hope to be. The effect of their ordination, both on themselves and on the natives around, has been very good; they seem fully alive to their duties, and their hearts are "gladdened and strengthened to enter on an enlarged sphere of duty." The natives on their side are gratified at finding black men attaining to a dignity which before they thought was beyond their reach. When the new deacons first appeared in surplice and stole, their friends and neighbours were astonished, and after the first celebration, when the Rev. William Ngewensa had administered the chalice, the people gathered round him with much warmth of affection.

Thus the Church of this portion of South Africa, hardly yet twenty years old, and having been exposed to trials all the more severe because they were so unexpected, has yet passed out of the first stage, and before one generation has been removed, possesses Bible and Prayer-book in the native tongue of her children, and from the midst of these children has the promise of a native ministry, who in the ages to come shall feed their brethren with the Word and sacraments.

XV.

In December, 1856, Livingstone, who had completed a residence of sixteen years in Africa, suddenly returned to England. His great feat, so recently accomplished, insured for every word he uttered unlimited attention; but the hero of the hour was just the same simple-minded man that he had ever been. He repeated the memorable words which he had uttered so often: "I regard the geographical feat as the beginning of the missionary enterprise." He felt that his work had been to act as a pioneer, and that where the road had been opened the messengers of the Cross should follow without delay. And now that the road had been opened into an entirely strange land,—a road that could only be trodden with much difficulty and by men of unusual resources and courage,—he came to the Church of England and to the Universities to accept the challenge which he threw down. He was by birth and hereditary prejudices a Presbyterian. He had himself taken the money of a Nonconformist missionary society; but yet for this most arduous work he thought the best qualified men were to be found in the Church of England, and in her ancient seats of learning and of true religion. But his appeal produced no immediate fruits; and in March, 1858, he returned to Africa, having, as it seemed, accomplished nothing. Shortly after this the Bishop of Capetown was in England, and he fanned into a flame the spark which Livingstone had struck; and

on All Saints' Day, 1859, a meeting of unusual importance was held in Cambridge, members of the sister University having been deputed to attend it, which fairly launched the mission to Central Africa. The hour had come and also the man; for, expected by no one, there had suddenly appeared in Cambridge Archdeacon Mackenzie, who, as was mentioned in the preceding paper, had returned to England to advise with the authorities before heading the missions to Zululand. It was felt at once that here was the leader, providentially pointed out, to take up the work suggested by Livingstone. He had every conceivable qualification: academical distinction, unlimited popularity in the University, zeal for missionary work, shown first in his desire to labour at Delhi, as mentioned in a previous paper (page 38), and, latterly, by a residence of some duration in Africa, experience of the languages and customs of the South African tribes, and, above all, child-like faith and humility, so genuine and so profound as to be a source of amusement as well as of admiration to all who knew his great powers and capabilities. It was in the midst of the enthusiasm of this great meeting, which seemed to promise the inauguration of a new era of missionary work, of zeal, of self-denial, and, as it was hoped, of triumphs, that Mackenzie's far-seeing humility prompted him to whisper to his neighbour, "I am afraid of this. Most great works have been carried on by one or two men in a quieter way, and have had a more humble beginning."

Events have shown that he was right. The new era has not been inaugurated, the expected triumphs have not been won. The Cambridge committee, in their report read on that occasion, disclaimed the idea of founding a new missionary society, and expressed a hope that, after the few first years, the mission might be handed over to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In this the committee

probably remembered the history of the Borneo Missions, which had an independent starting-point, and in five years were adopted by that society; but in the hearts of many, who were impressed by the magnificence of the inaugurating meeting, there was, no doubt, a conviction that the new association was destined to eclipse all former efforts, and to set before them a model to which they might be conformed. As a matter of fact, the Universities Mission continues to be a distinct missionary society, with its staff of officers and agents throughout the country. At one time the cost of an organisation so extensive, for an object so limited in sphere, was out of all proportion to its receipts, and an arrangement was made by which the accounts of the mission are kept by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the local work of the association is done by unsalaried agents. In other respects the visions, not of the immediate founders, but of many enthusiastic supporters of the mission, have not been realised. What man can do has been done; but to insure success is not in man's power. Bishop Mackenzie was as great in physical as he was in spiritual gifts; and in the days when the worship of muscle was at its fever height, this circumstance added much to the popularity of the undertaking which had so competent a leader. His powers of mind and body alike he freely gave; and after nine months' incessant travelling over England, he left for Africa in October, 1859, and was consecrated on January 1st, 1860, "Bishop of the mission to the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyassa and River Shire." Five days later he sailed for Natal, and on February 9th the whole party met Livingstone at the Kongone mouth of the Zambesi. The mission staff consisted of the bishop, Rev. L. J. Proctor, H. C. Scudamore, and Henry Rowley, Mr. H. Waller, the lay superintendent, Gamble, a carpenter, Adams, a labourer, and three native

converts, mentioned in a previous paper as having been trained by Mr. Lightfoot at Capetown.

It would be simple presumption to attempt to detail at any length in these pages the labours of these gallant men. The story has already been told, with that rare and simple fidelity which is the sign of the highest power, by one who bore no insignificant part in this exploit,* and nothing is left to be written on the subject. Those who would study the life and character of an unconscious hero of the highest type, will read with pleasure and profit the Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie by his friend the Bishop of Carlisle, an example, almost without parallel, of what a biography should be. In this paper, therefore, the fortunes of the little company can only be rapidly glanced at.

At the mouth of the Zambesi their troubles began. For some reason the forethought and sagacity of Livingstone, who met them at this spot, were at once at fault. Fearing to ascend the Zambesi immediately after the rainy season, when the marshes, becoming exposed, are very unwholesome, and wishing also to come in contact with the Portuguese as little as possible, he advised going to the River Roovooma, some eight degrees north, and so reaching Lake Nyassa by a south-west course. But the "Pioneer," the steamer lent to Livingstone by H.M. Government, drew five feet, and the Roovooma was shallow, and three weeks were spent in working thirty miles, so that they were glad to get away at all, a feat rendered daily more difficult by the decreasing volume of stream. On May 1st the party began to ascend the Zambesi. Here, for nine days, they had a good stream; and although they had frequently to stop to cut fuel for the steamer, and all the party were more or less attacked by fever, they kept up their spirits; but when they

* *The Universities Mission to Central Africa*, by the Rev. Henry Rowley.

came to the River Shire (pronounced Chirri), the same difficulties met them which had driven them away from the Roovooma. The stream was shallow, and sand-banks abounded. Again Livingstone's sagacity was sadly, strangely at fault. He had ascended the stream two years before, but he had not taken into account that his vessel then drew thirty-three inches and now drew sixty. After eight toilsome weeks, the "Pioneer" reached a spot, familiar to us now as "Chibisas," from whence they struck out on foot in a north-easterly direction for the high lands, hoping to find a suitable site on which to settle. How they came on several parties of slave dealers, how they released the captives from the heavy forks which were fastened round their necks, how the Manganja, who were their friends, led the mission party to defend them from the hostile Ajawa, who were preying on them,—these are now familiar facts. At the end of July they settled at Magomero, and here were left by Livingstone, with their rescued slaves as the first material on which to work, in a lovely spot, 4,000 feet above the level of the sea. Here, after further conflict with the Ajawa, the party began their proper work. The languages were studied and reduced to system, and the natives were sent to work at regular hours, under the guidance of the Cape men; huts were speedily built, and the daily office said in one of them, which was called the chapel. Schools were established, and the Sunday observances impressed the people much. At length things got into such order that Mr. Waller wrote, "What a luxury a chair is! what a rest it is! We have now a table, albeit a very rickety one, and our beds are off the ground—an approach to civilisation which, with the sitting to take our meals, astonishes and delights our bones as much as it does the admiring group of natives." But Magomero was not a healthy site. Spite of its elevation, it was a "hole," by

reason of the much higher lands which surrounded it. Fever attacks were therefore frequent; but what was more serious, a famine was impending throughout the whole region.

In November the bishop went, hoping to meet Livingstone at Chibisas, and there he greeted the Rev. H. Burrup, who had recently arrived, but only to find speedily that the land of his adoption was to be his grave.

In December the bishop again started to reconnoitre the country about the River Ruo, and to punish the Ajawa for an act of treachery. Dr. Dickenson, a medical man, and Clarke, a shoemaker, had meanwhile reinforced the mission. For eight days the bishop and his party trudged on their weary way through swamps and morasses, hoping to reach the mouth of the Shire, to discover, on December 31st, that they must then return to Magomero and start afresh on a journey of 200 miles, if they would keep their appointment with Livingstone. After one night's rest the bishop and Mr. Burrup set out on their expedition, accompanied only by one of the Cape men. Arriving at Chibisas, they borrowed a canoe, and two nights afterwards they were upset by the boat grounding on a sand-bank. That mishap was fatal. Wet through, they wrapped themselves in their soaked blankets and passed the night in this plight; their quinine and other medicines were lost when the canoe capsized, and they had no means of warding off the inevitable fever that ensued. Helpless and sad, but not cast down, the two sufferers comforted each other; and on January 31st, 1862, just thirteen months after his consecration, the bishop breathed his last on the Island of Malo; and Mr. Burrup, by the brief sunset light, buried him under an acacia-tree, and read as much as he could of the Burial Service in the deepening gloom.

It was a dying man who thus ministered to the dead.

He returned with difficulty to Magomero, and within a few days he was followed to his grave by the small company of sorrowing friends at the head-quarters. From this time the work of the mission was steadily persevered in, although the spirits of all were tried, not only by the loss of their friends, but by the increasing famine. The natives were brought to like their work, for which they received regular wages; the schools were carried on, the surviving missionaries became more at home with the vernacular, and from time to time journeys had to be made at great peril in order to obtain a supply of food. On January 1st, 1863, the Rev. H. C. Scudamore died, and in March following Dr. Dickenson was laid by his side in a beautiful spot outside the village. Meanwhile, on Feb. 2nd, 1863, Bishop Tozer had been consecrated in Westminster Abbey, and in May arrived at the mouth of the Zambesi. There he heard the sad fortunes of the original mission party. In the following month he arrived at Magomero, and found the survivors weakened and suffering. The bishop wished to move the station to Morumbala, which is more accessible from the coast; the older missionaries, who felt an interest in their native following, which the bishop, as a stranger, perhaps could not feel, urged that they should move only to M'bami, twenty miles distant, and so keep their people with them. But the counsels of the new-comers prevailed, and Morumbala was adopted for a time. Meanwhile Rowley and Proctor were invalided home, and of the original party of English only Waller survived. He determined not to abandon the poor people, who had proved themselves worthy of all the kindness which they had received, to be the prey of the first gang of men-stealers that might descend on the country, and he contrived to make terms with a chief of the Ajawas, by which they became his people, and he pledged himself to defend them. This circumstance showed that the mission party might all have

returned to the hills with perfect safety. Mr. Waller having provided for the bulk of his people, brought with him to the Cape some dozen women, who were dependent on the mission, and twenty native boys, whom Bishop Tozer had had with him at Morumbala, but whom he abandoned together with the place; for all of these Mr. Waller found places in Capetown, and of the boys, two, who had been subsequently educated in Bombay, accompanied Livingstone in his last expedition. In 1864 Bishop Tozer had arrived at the Cape to decide on a new base of operations. The mechanics whom he had brought out with him were sent back to England, and Zanzibar was chosen by him as the spot from which the objects contemplated by the founders of the mission might be attained. The mainland then, in which, if much had not been done, much had been suffered, was deserted; but the occupation of it even for so short a time cannot have been in vain. Mr. Rowley thus wrote of the expedition: "It is not as we hoped—it is not as we in our blindness expected it would be; but to say that the life and death of Bishop Mackenzie were in vain, that the life and death of those his fellow-workers, who so soon followed him to the grave, were in vain—is to question the purpose of Almighty God. No, they did not live in vain, they did not die in vain." These words are true and weighty. Of the people entrusted to the Ajawa by Mr. Waller, when Bishop Tozer broke up the station on the mainland, Mr. Rowley hazarded the following prediction:—"They will be living in the constant expectation of seeing some of us again. I have no doubt that they are acting in some sort as missionaries to the Ajawa—not, of course, in the highest sense, they were not prepared for that; but in every assembly they will speak of what we did, they will tell of our love and kindness as well as of our power, and they will be able to say that love for God, the desire to do God's will and to make them acquainted with the knowledge of the Lord, were the

mainspring and motive of all our actions. For years to come the English missionaries will be talked of in the villages of the Ajawa. Around their fires at night, by the blacksmith's forge, under the khotla tree, wherever men congregate in that land, our words will be recorded, our deeds recounted, and the simple lessons of right and wrong, of truth and good-will, which we were able to instil into their minds, will not be lost; they will be disseminated. For years to come these people will live in the expectation of seeing us again." This prediction has been realised, for when, in 1867, the first Livingstone search expedition was organised, the commander of that party came in contact with these people, and found that they lived in expectation of seeing their "English Fathers" again, that they had called their children after them, and that the memory of their good deeds was fresh and green in the breasts of the simple people. More than this, the land was fertile and food abundant. It was proved that the famine which had caused such terrible suffering was altogether an unprecedented event, and the Shire, which the deeply-laden "Pioneer" had taken eighty days to ascend, while her passengers were prostrated with fever, had been ascended in the light-draft steel boat of this well-found expedition in thirteen days, another instance of the ill-fortune and repeated blunders which beset the original mission.

From this time, then, the mission to Central Africa has been settled at Zanzibar, an island twice the size of the Isle of Wight. Its geographical position seemed to promise every facility for communication with the inland tribes. The committee in England, to whose judgment the matter was referred, agreed with Bishop Tozer in his opinion that it was the best sphere open to him, and the bishop has stedfastly adhered to his resolution not to regard Zanzibar as a field for mission work in itself, but only as a means of ultimately reaching Central Africa. So far as can be gathered

from his letters, he has neither made nor attempted to make any impression on the adult population, whether African or Mahometan, of that island. The Sultan, with whom he has been on good terms, has given into his hands some lads who have been rescued from slave dhows,* and on the estate which he purchased with the money raised for him at the Theological College at Wells, he has specially devoted himself to the education of these and other lads, with the hope that some at least of them may become hereafter ordained missionaries. In this respect his work has been in wise imitation of the example set many years ago by the missionaries in Madras, where the native clergy are now more numerous than the European, and retain, in their new spheres, the inexpensive habits of life common among their own people. The labours of his friend and colleague, Dr. Steere, have been indeed invaluable. While turning his hand to work of all kinds as there was need, he, more than any other member of the missionary staff, has shown a remarkable power of acquiring the vernacular; and his *Suahili Handbook* and his many translations are sufficient testimony to his diligence and his ability. But after all the question will arise, whether Zanzibar is the best spot on which these works could have been accomplished. The bishop landed there in 1864, and up to the present time no permanent impression has been made on the mainland. Members of the mission have from time to time visited it, and had interviews with the chiefs, but the effort has been made with great difficulty,

* This he could well afford to do; for, according to the author of *The Search for Livingstone* (Simpkin, Marshall & Co.), "The Sultan himself is a miserable Arab; yet he is allowed to keep up a Slave Market under the very flutter of the Union Jack, Tricolour, and Stars and Stripes, which decimates annually vast tracts of African soil. Last year (1867) he received as tribute two dollars per head on 20,000 slaves, thus sold under our very noses, whilst, a few miles out at sea, every one of them might have been lawfully liberated." —p. 11.

and even at the cost of life. The missionaries of other societies who have long been on the Eastern coast do not report favourably of it, either in the matter of health or missionary success. The Church Missionary Society contemplates the probability of withdrawing their missions from Kisulidini and Mombas, still further to the north, which Bishop Tozer has visited. "The United Free Methodists" have also missions in this neighbourhood, but they appear to be of a very limited character. Moreover, in the district of Usambara, which is opposite to Zanzibar, the language spoken is not Suahili but Shambala; so that with the fact admitted that the continent has been reached only in the most fragmentary manner, the visits paid to it being brief in duration and at considerable intervals, the question remains whether the preparatory work hitherto carried on at Zanzibar might not have been accomplished in a healthier region, at a less cost of sickness and human life. The self-devotion of the missionaries has been in truth excessive. To join an undertaking whose progress has been marked by deaths, or by sickness which compelled the sufferers to return to England, at a rate altogether disproportionate to the numbers of the staff, and without parallel in any modern mission, implies, indeed, a large amount of self-sacrifice; but to risk life and strength needlessly may be courage, but it is not the highest prudence. At the worst, almost all that can be said against the adoption of an island whose climate is notoriously about the most unwholesome in the world, and to select it as a basis of operations, is that to do so is an error of judgment. Events have occurred subsequently which justify us in thinking that some position on the mainland, either in the immediate neighbourhood of the original settlement, or in the Transvaal Republic, or in Zululand, might have been chosen, and that the "tribes around the Lake Nyassa," whom Bishop Tozer has regarded as

the ultimate object of his care, would have been reached at an earlier date and with less cost of suffering and of human life than is now likely to be the case.

When, in 1864, the bishop wrote,—"To have gone to Zululand would have been to abandon absolutely Central Africa," he hazarded a statement which the course of subsequent events is likely to contradict; for his friend, Bishop Wilkinson, at the end of his first year of work in that country, was able to report in January, 1872, that he had pushed his way northward to within 400 miles of the Zambesi, while Zanzibar is 700 miles still further to the north, and that he hoped next year to throw out new stations which would bring him even closer to the Zambesi. That river is the northern limit of the country assigned to Bishop Wilkinson. We may hope that his energy will enable him shortly to reach it, and that from Zanzibar Bishop Tozer, or those who succeed him, for increasing ill-health has caused the Bishop to express a desire of resigning his position, may force their way southward, and that the land in which the bodies of Mackenzie and his comrades expect the great awakening may again be the scene of missionary labours, whose fortunes shall not be so disastrous as were those of the earlier efforts.

XVI.

With a notice of the Dioceses of Zululand and Bloemfontein the record of missionary work in the southern portion of the African continent will be brought to a close. From a previous paper it will have been gathered that Bishop Colenso at one time considered the promise of missionary success in Zululand so great that he proposed to resign his position in Natal, and devote himself wholly to the heathen tribes living across the Tugela. It was afterwards arranged that Archdeacon Mackenzie should head this mission, and he had come to England to make the necessary arrangements for doing so, when the call to him to go still further north and establish a mission in the newly-opened central regions seemed too distinctly providential to be neglected.

If we may anticipate by some years the course of events, this seems to be the place to record that, although the mission to Zululand was not destined to be directed by him, it owes its first bishop to the example of his zeal, and the endowment of the see to those who reverence his memory. The Rev. T. E. Wilkinson, who was consecrated first bishop in Zululand on St. Mark's Day, 1870, received his first impressions of the sanctity and reality of missionary work from reading the Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie. If anything may be said to happen by chance, then it was a chance that put this book into the future bishop's hands. (The word "chance" is used reverently, and not without a firm belief

that chance had nothing to do with it.) In a strange house, on a wet day, the book was taken up, and the result was that Mr. Wilkinson, then a curate in charge of a Suffolk flock, became from that hour an enthusiastic missionary. Not indulging in dreams or in visions of what he would do, if the opportunity offered, he showed the reality of his convictions, not by yearning after an improbable condition of things, but simply by doing the work that lay close at hand, and doing it with his might. He made his rural parish a model of what every parish in England might be if only its spiritual guides were convinced, as was he, of the urgency of the missionary claims made on it ; and it may be added that, until the clergy are so impressed, the Church will not take the position which it ought. True missionary fervour is always contagious : in these pages not a few proofs are given of this statement. The present is yet another instance. The zeal of the pastor was communicated to his people. They were a rural flock, which is not generally the most capable of enthusiasm, or the most open to such influences ; but the fire of earnest devotion is a great power, and the farmers gave their money, and the humbler classes made offerings according to their ability. More than this, Mr. Wilkinson infected the young with his own spirit, and he undertook the training of some who were moved to offer themselves for the work itself. One of these, Samuel Speare, has been for three years at Zanzibar. As was natural, Mr. Wilkinson felt an especial interest in all things connected with the noble missionary, the story of whose life had given such a turn to his own thoughts and feelings. He threw himself with heartiness into the effort that was made to raise a memorial to Bishop Mackenzie ; and when the modest sum of £4,500 (hardly more, by the way, than wealthy men have given for a single painting with which to adorn their dining-room, and one-third of the sum recently

given for a race-horse) was raised to commemorate the martyr of the Zambesi and to maintain a chief pastor in Zululand, what more natural than that the man whose heart had been warmed by the example of that saintly prelate should be called upon to undertake the work which at one time bade fair to be his own? There was nothing of the "*Volo Episcopari*" in this case. But for the reticence which is rendered necessary by consideration of those who are still living, it would be easy to write of the many, not unnatural, objections that were in the way of his responding to the invitation. Bishop Wilkinson is not the first, neither is he likely to be the last, who has turned his back on the placid contentments offered by family livings and well-endowed preferment, and the charms of society and the endearments of family ties, and chosen to throw in his lot with the heathen and the colonists; and while such men are granted to her the Church of England need not tremble for her position as a living branch of the Church catholic.

We now go back to the first establishment of our missions in Zululand. It was in 1860 that the Rev. R. Robertson first broke ground in this country. For four years he had laboured in close proximity to and warmest friendship with Mackenzie and his sisters at the Umlazi within the colony of Natal. He loved his work, and the fruits were beginning to appear; so much so, that in April, 1860, he wrote, "What we have looked and longed for is now beginning to come to pass: our influence for good upon the people around us is showing itself." But in September of the same year he left his ripening work for Zululand, "assuredly gathering" that it was a Divine hand that called him thither. In outward surroundings it was no change for the better. They went, not as small a party as was advisable, for some of their converts insisted on going with them, although to

go to Zululand was in their case to return to a land which had been to them a land of slavery, and from which they had escaped into Natal, and sought protection under the British flag, but they went to a land that was literally a howling wilderness. They made a journey of 200 miles over a mountainous but roadless country, intersected with rivers, which were spanned by no bridges, and which could be forded only under favourable circumstances. The two waggons in which they made their journey were also their dwellings for four months after their arrival in the country, some of their followers living under tents which they took with them. The fact of their reaching their new station at the commencement of the rainy season did not add to their comfort; and Mrs. Robertson, with energy and tact in teaching and winning the savages almost unrivalled, was nevertheless a confirmed invalid. The country was ruled by Panda, the youngest of three brothers mentioned in a previous paper as having between them caused the deaths of a million people. In bearing and courtesy of manner he was every inch a king; but he was troubled by domestic dissensions, his children being jealous of him and of each other. One of them, Cetywayo, had been named as his successor, and was, and still is, practically the ruler of the land. In such a country human life was of no value; from the royal family downwards, family feuds, dissensions, witchcraft, sorceries, and bloodshed seemed to be the order of the day. Of civilisation there was not a sign; but the ancient mythology and customs, without a knowledge of which no missionary can ever hope to make any impression, were almost as intricate as those of India. Polygamy everywhere prevailed. The people were ground down by their rulers. Witchcraft was and is an institution. "No case, great or small, can happen in which they have not recourse to their protecting or avenging spirit, through their witch

doctor." Often the most harmless people are "smelt out" by these rascals, and are speedily convicted and subjected to a horrible death by impalement. The trade of a witch-doctor is not likely to languish for lack of professors of the craft, for its privileges are many; immunity from service in the levies, and from all other work, together with abundance of food, are among the chief.

It was in such a wilderness, material and spiritual, that the Robertsons settled. They occupied the most advanced outpost, passing on their road the Norwegian mission which has long been settled here. In 1861 they were joined by a Norwegian, Mr. Samuelson, who had been ordained deacon by Bishop Colenso. Their home was at Kwamagwaza, a mountainous spot, 4,000 feet above the sea level, granted to them by Panda. In time Mr. Samuelson started a new mission at St. Paul's, some twenty miles off, and in 1866 they were joined by Mr. Jackson, of St. Augustine's College. They had a difficult path to tread. On the one hand they resolved to refrain from taking the part of the people against their rulers; on the other, they felt it their duty to reprove the rulers whenever their laws and customs were grossly in defiance of justice. To beard such irresponsible and cruel tyrants demands the very highest courage; and if but the circumstances were known, it would be found that in remote Zululand, in the last decade of this prosaic age, there have been as chivalrous deeds of Christian valour performed as ever were chronicled in the days of romance.

Building, translating, doctoring, learning the language and compiling grammars, baptizing their occasional converts, teaching the children, farming the mission lands,—thus the trio of faithful men laboured. At times favoured by the king and prince, at others running the risk of offending by boldness of speech, they have made their presence felt. In 1870, to their great joy, they received their

bishop. In knowledge of the language, in familiarity with native customs and modes of thought, he was inferior to them all. In years perhaps he was their junior; but he was the completion of their missionary organisation, and it was his to dispense gifts and graces which heretofore had been wanting. Soon after his arrival he confirmed twenty-one natives; a small band truly, but no inconsiderable harvest in a land where ten years before the only token of the presence of civilised men was a couple of battered tents pitched on the waste. The bishop was cordially received by Panda, who regarded him as "the king of the teachers," and Cetywayo, the real king, promised to send his son to the bishop to be educated by him.

Mr. Jackson and Mr. Glover were soon despatched to found a new station to the northward, at a spot called Etaleni, and the bishop determined to lose no time in pushing his way to the Zambesi, the northern limit of the district assigned to him by the Provincial Synod of South Africa. It was necessary first to erect more buildings, and specially a school, in which promising natives may be educated to become catechists, and, if God will, clergy. This took the best portion of a year. The bishop had to superintend everything in person, and the difficulties of building in a desert place, "two hundred miles from a tin-tack or a pennyworth of glue," can only be learned by experience. These having been surmounted, and one wing of the future college completed, the bishop, after three weeks' journeying, reached the kraal of the Prince of the Amaswazi, a race of people superior to the Zulus, as the Zulus are superior to the Kafirs of Natal. For 1,100 miles north of this spot the land was utterly untouched by the hand of a missionary, the nearest Christian station being that of Bishop Tozer at Zanzibar. The result of this tour was the establishment of a station in

the Amaswazi country, for which Mr. Jackson, one of the former staff, and a younger colleague, volunteered. The people are a magnificent race, peaceful and industrious, and there is really no reason why, if men are forthcoming, the whole region of the Zambesi should not very shortly be occupied. The country near the coast, eastward of the Bombo range of hills, is much more difficult of access: it is a land of death, and there are precipices up which no waggon could be taken, while around the base of the mountainous ridge the Tsetse fly, which is fatal to oxen, is prevalent. The hope of reaching the Amatonga tribes, who inhabit this terrible land, is therefore not an immediate one; but neither is it remote, whatever the result may be. Nine traders, in the exercise of their calling, recently ventured into this region, and not one returned. A member of the bishop's party has nevertheless volunteered to make the experiment, at all events on the confines of the Amatonga country, and the bishop intends to be his companion.

Thus it will be seen that zeal is contagious, and that where the sacred fire of missionary love is kindled, labours and their results go on increasing in something like geometrical progression. Bishop Mackenzie was not permitted to cross the Tugela and labour in Zululand, as he had proposed. It was ordained that he should work and die in another country, and that with his death the work which he had commenced, over which he had prayed and toiled, and at the outset of which he died, should be abandoned, at least for a time, and, as man judges, that no visible results should be gathered in; but such would be only a hasty and unreflecting judgment. Had he accomplished much less than he did on the Zambesi, neither his life nor his example of humble self-sacrifice would have been without result, if from his grave beside the African stream there

rose up that lesson of faith which counts not cost nor seeks earthly reward, and by the simple record of his life and character there was struck that spark of zeal which impelled Bishop Wilkinson to go forth from his English home, and to "bury himself" (as the phrase is) in the wilderness of Zululand.

XVII.

"The Orange Free State" has been mentioned more than once in the previous papers. It was at one time part of the Cape colony, and was visited by Bishop Gray in the early days of his episcopate. Its first settlers were the Dutch, who wandered so far from the sea-board in order to be free from the English rule; here they formed a country in which, for a time at least, they could indulge in the luxury of keeping slaves; here they formed themselves into a republic, having declared their political independence. But English settlers soon followed them, and it became the duty of our Government to annex the country to the colony, and it was known as the "Sovereignty beyond the Orange River." It was when this state of things prevailed that the Bishop of Capetown first went to Africa, and in his visitation tour of 1850,—a record of work as simple and as interesting as ever was written,—the bishop describes his visit to the Sovereignty and the efforts of the English at Bloemfontein to build for themselves a church. Archdeacon Merriman afterwards visited Bloemfontein, and laid the foundation of the church of St. Andrew in 1850. But before the church was finished, the constant disputes with the Boers led the English Government to abandon the Sovereignty, which, since 1854, has been an independent republic. It was supposed, therefore, that the English would leave the country; the church accordingly was not finished, and the clergyman, who had been working at Bloemfontein, was

withdrawn. In the register books of the church there is this entry, "The Orange River Territory abandoned by the British Government. Chaplain left March 28, 1854." But there was no decrease in the number of English who settled in the republic, and for these very little was done. Bishop Armstrong sent a clergyman from Grahamstown, who remained for a time, and then there was another blank. The settlers, not unnaturally, joined the Dutch Church or the Wesleyans; some were received into the Roman Church, others simply lapsed into careless ways. It was not until 1863 that work was resumed by the Church of England, and in that year a bishop was consecrated, and his sphere of work was defined as the Orange Free State, Basuto Land, and the Transvaal Republic, the latter being the second of the independent States which the Dutch formed when driven away from Natal by the treachery of Dingaarn. The area, therefore, to be covered is a very extensive one, and the races and languages are very different. The Dutch are the most numerous, and their Hottentot servants speak the language of their masters. There are many thousands of English in the Free State, and their presence attracts the educated among the Dutch to the Church of England, the more so as there have been recently serious divisions in their own body. The Basutos, who cannot be much fewer than 200,000, live in small villages with about 300 people in each. The Barolongs, on the other hand, live in towns: at Thaban 'chu alone there are not fewer than 14,000 of them. The Wesleyans have worked among them for forty-five years, the French Protestants for thirty-five years; the latter are said to be missionaries of a very high type, patient, simple, and diligent, but the people are prejudiced against them because they are French: they have been so much connected with the English Government that they are drawn to everything that is supposed to represent it. The Trans-

vaal Republic, which is 200 miles distant from Bloemfontein, is twice as large as England, and the population in this locality has lately overflowed all limits by the discovery of diamonds and the consequent "rush" to the fields.

When the first bishop went to this diocese, he immediately experienced the benefit of Bishop Gray's earlier visits. When he visited the great chief Moshesh, "the chief of all the Basutos," he was able to talk to him of his two sons, one of whom was being educated at St. Augustine's College, the other at Zonnebloem. The condition of this chief was very touching; for years he had been asking for a missionary, and, although still a heathen, he desired Christian teaching for his people, and had shown his appreciation of it by securing it for two of his sons. But his mountain fortress of Thaba-Bassio (which means "Mountain of Light") remained in darkness, and, as far as he himself was concerned, the darkness was never removed, for although most friendly to the clergy he professed that his time for learning had gone by.

In the early days of the mission there was sent out from St. Augustine's College a young student named Mitchell. In 1865, having shown a decided preference for missionary over colonial or pastoral work, he was sent to Thaban 'chu, an important settlement of the Barolongs. At that time the only Christians in the district besides himself were two sons of the chief Moroko, one of whom had been educated at Zonnebloem, the other at St. Augustine's. Mr. Mitchell soon learned the language, kept school for adults and children, and held five services every Sunday. From this centre he made tours throughout the districts, ringing a bell at each station, at the sound of which the Kafirs came together quickly. In 1867 the bishop married the two Christian sons of this chief to two young women who had been among the early converts of the mission, and who were baptized on their wedding-day.

The barriers which once were in the way of Christianity are now removed; even polygamy has lost its hold, and Moroko, the chief, although not a Christian himself, has allowed his wives to embrace the truth, till he is now left with one wife, and seems content to be so. The next in authority is so far convinced that he admits himself afraid to come to church lest he should be converted. The Barolongs make no attempt to retain their native customs, however harmless they may be, when they are persuaded of the truth of Christianity. This is especially the case with the women; when the missionary sees them leaving off the folds of beads on their legs and arms, and their heads covered with a handkerchief instead of a mixture of clay and fat, he knows what is about to happen, and in a while his expectations are fulfilled; new faces are seen at the catechism-class, and at the daily and weekly services, and the whole demeanour is changed. It is not denied that converts might be good Christians without abandoning barbarous dresses and fashions; but, as a matter of fact, the two changes take place simultaneously, and the one is an index of the reality of the other.

In 1866, the old building commenced in 1850, and which the colonists, disheartened at being deserted by their chaplain in 1854, had allowed to become a ruin, was completed, having been almost erected afresh from the foundation, and was solemnly consecrated as the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew. The work had been accomplished in the face of great difficulties, for just at that time the country had been ravaged by a civil war, and when it was completed the visible result was not magnificent: the church had neither transept, aisles, nor tower, and it held only 200 persons; but those who had toiled to complete it thoroughly appreciated the comfort which it afforded to them,—a comfort which none can realise who have not been compelled

for three years to worship in a rude barn. A house was opened at the same time in close proximity to the church, which had been built for the residence of the bishop.

In 1867 an experiment in the missionary work of the Church of England was made in this diocese : a missionary brotherhood, under the leadership of the Rev. Canon Beckett, went and established themselves in the wilderness. Their purpose was to settle on a tract of land sixty miles from any town, but in the midst of a native population, and by labouring with their own hands, after the manner of the Moravians, to accustom the natives to the sight of honest labour, and from their central station to go forth and evangelise the heathen. It must be allowed that the experiment has on the whole been a great success. It is a difficult task to bring together a number of young men of different degrees of education and social position, and to form them into a harmonious community, bound together by common work and wholesome discipline. Some of the earlier members either felt or showed that the life was not suited to them and withdrew from it. It was not a luxurious life, especially at the outset, for the brotherhood were unable to enter on the farm which they expected to occupy, and to save expense they lived in a cave, to the detriment of the health of some of the members, for more than a year. Their industry has been very great; they have proved themselves untiring evangelisers. Their printing presses are all too small, and their stock of type too limited to allow them to do the work which they now want to accomplish. When the discovery of the diamond fields caused a "rush" from all parts of Africa as well as from all other countries to those parts, the diggers would have been utterly without Church privileges but for the members of the brotherhood. Several of them were in deacon's orders only, and owing to the continued vacancy of the see, two young deacons, who had been sta-

tioned in the Transvaal Republic, were debarred from the Holy Communion for more than four years. This was a case in which men were wanted rather than money, for the diggings had attracted many young men who had been trained as Churchmen in Capetown and Grahamstown, and who from the first offered a tithe of their findings for the support of the Church. To the daily increasing population the Venerable Archdeacon Kitton, of Kaffraria, endeavoured, by a sojourn of six months, to supply the ministrations of religion; but early in 1871 the second Bishop of the Orange Free State entered on his work. In the Provincial Synod of South Africa it was agreed that the diocese should be hereafter known as that of Bloemfontein, and the vast district now placed under the pastoral care of Bishop Webb may congratulate itself on the man who has been given to it for a spiritual father. A distinguished Fellow of University College, Oxford, his prospects in England might fairly have included some high positions. Already in possession of a rural benefice in one of our most lovely counties, it must have been an act of simple devotion which led him to exchange present position and future prospects for a difficult work among a people, the large majority of whom are heathen, or indifferent, and in a country that is arid and uninteresting.

Having been selected for his present work while the Bishop of Capetown was in England, it was convenient that he should be consecrated in this country; but in this, as in other instances, the free action of the Church is hindered by the restraints of legislation, which is altogether obsolete when brought in contact with her increasing growth, and the consecration had to be held at Inverness Cathedral, the "Jerusalem Bishopric Act" having no force north of the Tweed.

Of Bishop Webb's labours the newspapers in the Free

State write in the most grateful terms; and this testimony is the more remarkable as the tone of the *Free Press* of the Republic (which enjoys a freedom bordering closely on license) has hitherto been very hostile to the English Church. Among the diggers there is, as has been mentioned, a considerable element of Church people, who have gratefully appreciated the zeal with which the bishop has himself laboured for weeks among this motley population, and the provision which he has made for them by stationing several clergy in the fields. This being so, they have no doubt done much towards forming a wholesome public opinion. As a matter of theory, it is the special function of the press to form public opinion; as a matter of fact, the press often follows it.

XVIII.

The area of the Diocese of St. Helena is remarkably limited; and those persons who estimate the necessity of the episcopate, or at all events of the personal presence of a bishop, by the number of clergy whom he has to lead, or the amount of correspondence which he has to conduct, were disposed to ridicule the proposal to establish a bishopric on a small island which possessed only six clergymen. It had formed part of the Diocese of Capetown since 1847, previous to which it had been under the care of the Bishop of London; and surely a population of 5,000 Church people ought to find all their yearnings for episcopacy amply met, when they were separated from the cathedral city and the bishop's chair by little more than a thousand miles of ocean. Until the establishment of the See of Capetown it had been rather a Government station than a colony: its importance as a halting-place on the long voyage to India had been recognised by the Portuguese three centuries ago, but as that slave-dealing nation increased its possessions on the African mainland, so it neglected St. Helena. In 1651 it became a possession of the East India Company, and many emigrants from England accepted offers of land, and settled in the island, employing slaves from Madagascar to cultivate their farms. The island was alternately taken again and again by Dutch and English. In the latter half of the 17th century many families who had been ruined by the Great Fire of London here made a home with the wreck of their

possessions. The great event of historical interest is of course the imprisonment of Buonaparte at Longwood, from 1815 until his death in 1821.

When Bishop Gray found time, in 1849, to visit this remote part of his diocese, he was the first Anglican prelate who had ever set his foot on its soil. The people, therefore, were unconfirmed, the cemeteries and churches unconsecrated. Of the latter the number was very small; the building used for worship at Longwood was the billiard-room, which had been built for the amusement of the ex-Emperor; and such churches and cemeteries as did exist were in the hands of the governor, and had never been conveyed to the Church. In 1857 the bishop again visited St. Helena, but the expenditure both of time and money was a great burden on the resources of Bishop Gray, whose hands were already more than full, and in 1859 Bishop Claughton was consecrated to the newly founded see. The establishment of the bishopric gave great pleasure to the Church people in the island, who showed their gratitude by raising towards the endowment the sum of £1,000. Their numbers are limited, and the majority of them are very poor; but at the time that they raised this sum they were paying off by a rate a debt of £1,200 on a church recently completed, and were building a new one at a cost of £2,000—a sufficient answer to those who ridiculed the establishment of a bishopric on an island so small and with so limited a population.

But however limited the resident population, there is a migratory class of suffering folk, the victims of the hateful slave trade, for whom the Church has performed great deeds of mercy at St. Helena. Our Government has spent immense sums annually on the repression of this traffic. Whenever a slaver is taken by a man-of-war, the officer in command is bound to convey his prize without delay to the nearest English port where there is an Admiralty Court, in which

the case may be adjudged. The number of slaves discharged at St. Helena is so large that the Government has provided an institution for their reception: they arrive in the most pitiable state, their condition being all the worse the longer they have been at sea. They are crowded together on deck and in the hold, and are passed over the side at the end of their voyage like bales of goods: the dying and the dead are mixed together, and it is often difficult to distinguish between them. It was while the Bishop of Capetown was making his first visit to St. Helena that a slave ship was brought in with a freight of 560 souls: they were a particularly healthy cargo, the death-rate among them being about one per diem; but in the hospital on shore at the same time there were 300 sufferers: for these no provision was made beyond food and medicine. The institution cost £10,000 annually, but the trifling additional cost of a chaplain or a catechist was not provided. Bishop Claughton, immediately on his arrival, addressed himself to remedying this disastrous state of things. He boarded the first prize that was brought in, and in his description of the scene declared that the gaunt skeleton forms, the abject apathetic looks of the miserable captives, as they were set free on English soil, reminded him of Charon and his crew of Shades. With one of his clergy he devoted himself to the instruction of these poor negroes: in a dreary gorge called "Rupert's Valley," he and his interpreter sat under the scanty shade of the green bamboo-tree, which grows here and there in a stunted fashion, surrounded by a circle of scholars. Sickness and disease had made many of them listless, but the majority had eager and attentive looks, and showed an increasing intelligence as their instruction proceeded. The bishop was happy in being able after due preparation to baptize 230 of these poor people, who were about to leave for the West Indies as free labourers. The

work thus commenced by Bishop Claughton has been continued by his successor, Bishop Welby; and specially ought we to notice the labours of the Rev. T. Goodwin, who for some years has given himself wholly to the care of these African slaves. In a missionary point of view few works can be more important. These unhappy creatures are, by the wise and Christian policy of England, not only made free, but they are enabled to use their freedom and to provide for their own wants by honest labour. They are consigned to our possessions in Demerara or the West Indies, and to employers who are responsible for their being treated well: they are free men, but slavery has reduced them to the condition of children, and it is necessary that, at first at all events, the Government which has given them liberty shall take a parental interest in their doings. Some 3,000 negroes every year are landed and go forth again from St. Helena alone; their stay on the island often extends to some months, as ships are not always ready to remove them. Such a length of time is sufficient to give them much religious instruction, and the result of their teaching is that they seek to be baptized: it follows, therefore, that a steady stream of Christian negroes, who have received their spiritual freedom as one of the results of their personal freedom, is yearly setting forth to other lands, each of whom in his individual character may be a missionary to his brethren.

Of the Africans who remain at St. Helena, many are blind, the sufferings to which slaves are exposed on board ships often inducing ophthalmia of the severest type; for these Mr. Goodwin uses the books with raised letters. But the work of teaching such poor people demands the very largest share of patience, as they are not acquainted with the English language, and acquire it very slowly. Of the labouring negro population on the island a much better report can now be given than would once have been the

truth, and much of this improvement is due to the missionary work performed in Rupert's Valley. The negro is by nature lazy, and his life at St. Helena is of a kind to foster such a tendency. His labour depends on the ships in port: when he has work, he must get through it in haste and confusion; but the ship sails, and until another arrives he has a long interval of idleness, in which his hard earnings are squandered recklessly. Formerly the negroes had little encouragement given to them: they shrank from joining the English congregation, who perhaps would not have welcomed them, but since their race has received the special care of the Church, they attend regularly both the schools and the services.

Life in St. Helena has its drawbacks, neither few nor inconsiderable: the area is confined, the society limited, and a dull monotony makes itself felt. White ants and rats, which are so numerous as to be pests, and which no one has yet been able to eradicate, add much to the lesser worries of existence. Provisions are nearly double the price that they are in England; and since the opening of the Suez Canal the number of ships which touch at the island is immensely diminished, and, in consequence, the commercial prosperity of the community has suffered accordingly.

Some 500 miles to the south-west, the island of Ascension claims the care of the Bishop of St. Helena. In 1861 Bishop Claughton visited it, and by a singular coincidence was enabled to consecrate its church on the festival from which the island derives its name. At the same time several cemeteries were consecrated, confirmation was administered, and not a few adults, the majority of them Africans, but one or two being British soldiers, were baptized. In 1865 the island was again visited by the Bishop of St. Helena, Dr. Welby, and a confirmation was held. Altogether Ascen-

sion must be a dreary spot: it is itself the summit of an extinct volcano, and the general prospect is that of extensive bare fields of black lava rocks, which have cooled and hardened in long parallel streams running down to the sea, with enormous conical hills of red and yellow cinders, without water, or gardens, or trees, or a blade of green. At the back of the island there is a farm and beautiful garden, and the single spring of water which supplies the wants of the people and of the ships. Here there is a large airy hospital, to which many of our sailors stricken with coast fever are brought, very frequently to die. To this institution a chaplain is attached, and the great depression of spirits which accompanies coast fever makes the sympathising ministrations of a clergyman specially acceptable to the sufferers.

The Church has few more desolate or barren spots in which she gathers together her children than the rugged and storm-beaten rock which is named after the Ascension of Her Lord; yet here the negro and the English—members of the enslaved race and of the race which gave to it its freedom—kneel together, equally members of that divine body in which alone liberty, equality, and fraternity of the highest and truest sort are to be found. However isolated the lot of our brethren, the presence of the Church and the offices of the Book of Common Prayer remind them, by every prayer that is offered and every rite which is administered, that in spiritual things they are not isolated, but that their worship is part of that chorus of adoration and of praise which at every hour is being offered in the very words of the English Liturgy from some part of the globe.

One Christian settlement there is even more remote and destitute than that of Ascension; it is also within the limits of the Diocese of St. Helena, but it must be noticed in a separate paper.

XIX.

THE spot to which belongs the distinction of being the most distant outpost of the Church of England, and the most remote settlement which the colonising Anglo-Saxon has ever founded, is Tristan D'Acunha. Never to have heard its name is not incompatible with the advantages of a good education, and an acquaintance with its exact whereabouts would hardly be expected even in a competitive examination. Some 1,200 miles south of St. Helena, and 1,500 miles south-west of the Cape of Good Hope, with no other land nearer to them, in the very middle of the South Atlantic Ocean, there stand three miserable rocks. Distant from each other about thirty miles, they form a triangle. Of these one is called "Inaccessible," and rightly so; for it is a huge rock, rising precipitously 2,000 feet out of the sea, and only at one or two spots, in the calmest weather, could a landing be effected. The second is called Nightingale Island—not after the bird whose music has inspired so many verses, but with much more prosaic justice after a stolid Dutchman of that name. The substitute for the melody of the nightingale's song is the incessant scream of the penguins and other sea-birds who have ever held undisturbed possession of the rock, and who are the only creatures for whose habitation it is in any degree adapted. The third, which is much larger, being nearly square in shape, and each side being about five miles in length, has monopolised the name which properly belongs to the trio. Like the

other two, it is a vast rock, rising almost perpendicularly out of the sea some 3,300 feet, and in the centre a lofty cone ascends some 5,000 feet more, so that the peak, which is seen at an immense distance by passing ships, is about 8,300 feet above the level of the ocean. There are on this island one or two narrow strips of land between the base of the rock and the sea; and in one of these valleys, not a mile in width, and extending inland for nearly five miles, until a huge wall of rock forbids all further advance, as sensible and enduring a work for God has been carried on as can be found in any part of the world. This work has been done by two men, of neither of whom the world has probably ever heard: one was an ex-corporal of the Royal Artillery, the other a young Englishman engaged in a London warehouse, and who volunteered to go as an ordained teacher and minister to the little settlement at Tristan D'Acunha. Before, however, their work is described, some notice is due to the locality in which that work was performed.

The motives that induced any man to wrest these miserable islands from the undisturbed possession of the goats and the birds, which were their only suitable inhabitants, are hard to be understood. "*Auri sacra fames*" will bid men do and dare much; and it was the hope of getting wealth, mingled perhaps by the desire to escape from public notice, that led to the first settlement of Tristan.

It was in 1811 that an American named Lambert, accompanied by an old pirate, to whom voluntary exile seemed to promise immunity from worse things, and a Spanish lad who had deserted from his ship, first took possession of this island. He claimed it as his own, and advertised the fact in the Cape newspapers, inviting, at the same time, the custom of all nations. His visions were, no doubt, extravagantly bright. He planted largely tobacco, coffee, sugar,

and other tropical plants, expecting, in such a latitude and from a virgin soil, to reap abundant crops. He had not considered the force of the wind, which blows freely over so many hundreds of leagues of ocean on this defenceless spot, and which, when it comes from the south, brings from the Antarctic Pole cold enough to check the growth of even hardy plants. The expected crops were never gathered in, and Lambert's reign terminated mysteriously: there was too much reason to fear that he was murdered by his comrade the pirate, who, in his turn, is supposed to have destroyed himself. The colony, therefore, had hardly been established when murder and suicide formed part of its history.

In 1816 it became a British possession, and few things serve better to enable us of these days to realise the terror with which Napoleon, some fifty years ago, filled even that British nation, which had conquered and banished him, than the fact of our fathers thinking it worth while to fortify this remote spot.

Buonaparte was at St. Helena, 1,200 miles away across the ocean, and to prevent so eligible a spot from falling into the hands of the French, who might possibly, with the genius of that remarkable people, find means of communicating with their deposed idol even at that distance, the English Government sent 100 soldiers of the Royal Engineers and Artillery, who threw up batteries, built houses, cleared the land, and sowed some of the corn with which they had been provided. They remained here for a year, when the absurdity of the scheme made itself manifest, and the soldiers were withdrawn. As they were about to embark, one of the party, William Glass, a corporal of the Royal Artillery, asked permission to remain behind; and the result was that he and two of his comrades, with his wife and two children, six souls in all, were left in that remote spot, dependent wholly on passing vessels for com-

munication with the outer world, and sometimes for a whole year they were without even this amount of intercourse with their fellows. How the settlement grew and the population increased; how, from time to time, the kindly little colony gave refuge to shipwrecked crews, until they could be taken away; how, on one occasion, forty-four persons, passengers and crew of a ship that was wrecked on Inaccessible Island, made for nine weeks great demands on their stock of provisions, which was not so large as were their hearts; how on another occasion, in 1824, an Englishman, travelling for his own pleasure, was landed on the island while his ship was taking in a supply of water, and, the wind rising suddenly, the ship had to weigh anchor and run for days before a gale, and he was left for eight months a member of this unique society,—our space forbids us to recount. The whole, but brief, history of the colony has been written in an attractive manner by one who had much to do with its highest interests.* The population, which numbered six in 1817, amounted to ninety-five in 1855. In that time 115 persons had been born in the island and eighteen had died.

From the first, Corporal Glass was the leader of the little society, and was called "the Governor." He had no commission which gave him that rank, but he had been the superior of his comrades in the army; and the commanding officer, who had given to him the government stores and buildings when the settlement was abandoned, had regarded him as the chief, and an agreement was signed by his companions that, in the partnership on which they entered, Glass should be the principal. Born in Scotland, he had been bred a Presbyterian; but while acting as servant to an officer he had become attached to the Church of England. Imbued with the spirit of the Book of Common

* *The Utmost Parts of the Earth.* Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1856.

Prayer, he ruled his family wisely and piously. In a patriarchal fashion he was priest as well as father; and night after night, when the day's work was ended, he assembled his household and read the Evening Service. There was no fear of the Sunday being unobserved until, as has sometimes happened even among communities of baptized persons, the very account of the days has been lost, and one day has been as the rest. His sense of the value of education is abundantly proved by his having sent his two eldest children more than 20,000 miles in search of it: first to England, in charge of the captain of a whaler, who, being unable to care for them as he wished, sent them in another whaler to Cape Horn, from whence they came back to their island home; and, secondly, to the Cape of Good Hope, where, after six years' residence, they obtained such an amount of education as that colony, nearly fifty years ago, could give. In worldly matters the settlement made progress. Their trade was wholly with whaling ships, who dealt with them for potatoes, poultry, and the oil which they had extracted from sea elephants. Their prosperity received a check whenever they set up in trade on their own account. In spiritual things, all that the pious teaching and example of a good but unlearned layman could effect was done; but no clergyman had ever landed at Tristan. In 1835 a missionary named Applegate touched at the place on his way to India, and baptized during his stay twenty-nine persons, varying in age from a few weeks to seventeen years.

In October, 1848, the "Augusta Jessie," bound to Ceylon, being short of water, was obliged to stand "off and on" in the neighbourhood of the island for some days, as unfavourable weather made it difficult to embark their full casks. Among the passengers was the Rev. John Wise, afterwards Archdeacon of Colombo, and now Vicar of

St. Mary's, Ramsey. He preached several times to the people, and baptized forty-one persons. Mr. Wise was much impressed by the religious life of the community and by the humility of the old man, who had done so much to keep alive among them the faith and fear of God. He wrote an account of the settlement to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and asked that a supply of books might be sent to them, and hinted, almost as at a thing impossible of accomplishment, that a resident clergyman would be cordially received.

Governor Glass had expressed a great desire to have some book of sermons sent to him; for, said he, "I read them a sermon every Sunday, sir, and we don't half understand them yet, so they must be doing us good; but I should like another book." The good corporal's stock of sermons proved on inspection to be limited to two volumes of Blair's Sermons; and it will readily be conceived that, if difficulty of comprehension was the test of usefulness, they could hardly be supplanted with advantage.

The school-books were sent, and, as it happened, the teacher who was to use them arrived before them; for they were delayed at St. Helena.

The report of Archdeacon Wise drew from an anonymous Churchman an offer of £50 per annum towards the support of a clergyman at Tristan; and there was at that time a young man, who, having been engaged in business in London, was reading for ordination, and who was willing to banish himself to this remote spot, and to be content with the sum so piously offered. Early in 1851, after spending a week in vain endeavours to sight the islands, which were so little known that their very position was not correctly marked in the charts, Mr. Taylor was landed: it was a great event for Tristan and its people, and everything was done to provide for his comfort that was possible.

The gales are so tremendous, that the walls of houses cannot be built more than eight or nine feet in height, and they are at least two feet in thickness. As no lime is found in the island, mortar cannot be used; the stones, therefore, are dovetailed together, and building is attended with difficulty. Nevertheless, in two months a prophet's chamber was erected for their clergyman and plans matured for building a church. The services, meanwhile, were held in the "large room" at Government House, just sixteen feet by twelve, the seraphine serving as prayer-desk and pulpit. The school was commenced on the first Monday after Mr. Taylor's arrival; and when Easter came round, in about two months after his landing, he had prepared a little company of devout communicants, of whom only two had ever before had that privilege; and his choir had been trained to sing the Easter Hymn, so familiar to all congregations throughout the world. Those whose marriages had been sanctioned only by the civil law, as represented in the person of the governor, now sought the Church's blessing on their union, and there seems no reason to doubt that in that distant island there was much real, although unostentatious, religious feeling.

But to the clergyman it must have been a trying life. The change from the busiest city in the world to a miserable rock in mid-ocean, where for months and months there is not even the distraction of a passing ship, and where the society is composed wholly of persons inferior in education to himself, surely such a life is a martyrdom of no unheroic type. For two years after his arrival he heard not a word of his friends or of the outer world, and the joy of receiving letters and papers after such an exile is hard to describe, and almost too much to experience. Life under such conditions has few events. One great one was the completion of the church in 1852; and a more important

one occurred in 1853, when the good old governor died, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. For thirty-seven years he had been absent only for a few weeks, when he made a voyage to the Cape. His sphere was a limited one; but within its limits it may truly be said that he did "what he could." Few men, indeed, are to be found who, with humble abilities, have more consistently and devoutly walked, and led others to walk, in the true faith and fear of God. As patriarch, magistrate, and priest of his own household he was ever true to his duty, and the result of his pious example was shown in a manly and God-fearing people.

There is another island population, whose original elements were not altogether unlike those of which the Tristan community was composed, viz., the Pitcairners. It is quite conceivable that in both of these cases the temptations which beset people of the same social position, when living in daily contact with the world, have been to a great extent withheld, and that a higher standard of morality than is ordinarily met with is no more than might be expected. This, no doubt, is true; but we believe that the Tristan community, perhaps from having led a harder life in a severer climate, and in which daily work is a condition of maintenance, will be found to be of tougher moral fibre than the community at Pitcairn; and if it be so, they owe not a little of their spiritual vigour to the wise discipline of the man whom they regarded as their ruler and example.

For three more years Mr. Taylor ministered to his island flock. He had now a church, which had formerly been a dwelling-house, but which the builder and owner gave up on easy terms to be used as a church. Here, day by day, the prayers were offered, and every Sunday the Holy Communion was celebrated. The people continued to lead the same industrious lives: the men engaged in cultivating the ungenerous soil, in fishing, and, when occasion offered,

in boarding the whale-ships; the women spinning and knitting the wool of their own sheep into clothes for themselves and their families. But the difficulties of living increased as the population became larger. The soil was more exhausted as each successive crop was gathered in; and, to add to their troubles, the whales—which had attracted the vessels from which the islanders obtained their flour, to say nothing of their letters and papers—ceased to frequent those latitudes, and ships were rarer visitors.

But although it became increasingly evident that the island must be abandoned to the birds and goats, whose original possession ought never to have been disputed, Mr. Taylor had no thought of abandoning his people.

In 1856 the Bishop of Capetown found time, amid the cares of his vast diocese, to make a voyage to the little settlement at Tristan. He confirmed thirty persons, and found that Mr. Taylor's labours had been as satisfactory as they had been self-denying. He saw likewise the unsuitableness of the place for human habitation. Already their market was failing them by the withdrawal of the whale-ships, and the land was impoverished. The young men left their homes and shipped on board the vessels that put in from time to time; while the daughters, who found no such opportunity of escaping, were left behind. Political economy was defied, therefore, on all sides, and the people were nearly of one mind to accept the bishop's offer to send a large ship and remove the whole community, pastor and people, to the Cape. This was done, and Mr. Taylor has for the last fourteen years, together with the majority of his flock, been established on the mainland. His service of more than five years on the storm-beaten rock in the mid-Atlantic would have earned for him far higher promotion, if in this world true service always met with its reward. The men who give the one are, happily, indifferent to the other.

Yet one more phase of the Tristan people has to be recorded. Home is sweet, even on such a miserable spot; and when the rupture had to be made, some of the community could not find it in their hearts to abandon their scanty comforts, their weather-beaten cottages, and their impoverished land; they therefore declined a passage in H.M.S. "Geyser," which had been sent to fetch them.

In August, 1867, H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh visited the island in H.M.S. "Galatea," and was cordially welcomed by the survivors of the original colony. It was a gala day for the islanders; for the Duke not only purchased largely of them the fresh provisions which they had for sale, but gave them useful presents to the value of more than £100. He found that the good government which had been instituted by Glass fifty years before was still in force; the patriarch among them, named Green, making bargains on behalf of the community, and generally taking the lead, although he modestly volunteered the statement that he had no sort of authority beyond what was spontaneously accorded to him. The Duke spent some hours on shore, and visited the several houses as well as the grave-yard, in which a handsome marble headstone has been placed by his sons to the memory of Governor Glass. The church is now of course disused. The people are in the same condition as they were in 1851, when Mr. Taylor volunteered to share their lot. The chaplain of the "Galatea" went on shore and baptized sixteen children in the presence of their parents; and one of the mothers, by her own desire, returned thanks for her safe delivery.

The little settlement is henceforth to be known as "Edinburgh;" but although with reduced numbers the wants of the people are fairly met, it is to be hoped that the day is not far distant when they will make up their minds to abandon their inhospitable home.

As the islands now belong to the Cape station, it is almost impossible for the Bishop of St. Helena to reach them in one of H.M. ships. It is not likely that another Mr. Taylor will be found, willing to banish himself for the sake of some thirty-five people who persist in living out of the world; but it is a painful thought that even such a handful of Christians as these should be beyond the reach of the Church's ministrations.

XX.

It would be much to the credit of our country if in the history of a few of its many colonies it could be recorded with truth that, from the first, provision had been made for their spiritual needs. It is humiliating to have to state that Portuguese and Spaniards and Dutch, who are generally supposed to have failed as colonisers, left signs of their occupancy of such dependencies in the churches which they erected, and sometimes in the endowments which they provided, while England, as a country, has done little or nothing to show that it was a Christian power. The story of Mauritius is only another chapter in the history of India, of Ceylon, and of the Cape. The Portuguese, recognising its value as a resting-place on the route to India, took possession of it, but stocked it only with cattle, sheep, and goats; for the century during which it was a Portuguese possession, it received no other inhabitants than the animals which were landed there. The Dutch, who obtained it in 1638, named it after Maurice, Prince of Orange, their Stadtholder. Their rule peopled the island with slaves from Madagascar and from Mozambique, and with the convicts from their own country. In 1712 the French succeeded the Dutch, infinitely to the advantage of the colony, for they introduced industrial pursuits, agriculture, art, and commerce, and provided for the public services of religion. The wave of the French Revolution reached to this remote spot and gave rise to many commotions, social and re-

ligious. In 1814 the island became a British possession, one of the conditions of the treaty by which it was transferred being, that all existing religious establishments should be continued. After a century of French occupancy these establishments were naturally in connection with the Roman Catholic Church. It was, of course, simply a matter of good faith that these conditions should be observed, and a Roman Catholic cathedral was built with British money at a cost of £13,000. At the present time the Church of England would probably neither expect nor desire such aid for herself from Imperial funds; but sixty years ago it was only customary for the State to originate as well as to subsidise the efforts of the Church, and the treatment which the national faith received in Mauritius is strangely at variance with such a policy. While Roman bishops and priests were salaried by the Government, and churches built at public expense for their worship, no English chaplain was appointed until 1821, and twelve more years elapsed before he received a colleague. The Government still provides part of the income of the bishop, and supports three chaplains, partially maintaining four others, while a Roman bishop, a vicar-general, and twenty-five Roman priests, are maintained by public funds. There was little zeal in the English Church in the early part of the present century, but it is hardly conceivable that more would not have been done had an appeal been made to such zeal as existed, than was effected by the unwilling assistance of the State. Nothing tends more to show the great improvement in the general religious life of the Church than the consideration of the reception which such a policy would meet with in these days. Just now it seems not unlikely that the portion of the Anglican bishop's income that is derived from public sources may be withdrawn, in consistency with the general policy of disendowment which

is being adopted in the colonies; but there can be no doubt, not only that the deficiency will be supplied, but that an impetus will be given to his work. As with clergy so with churches: not until 1828 was any building provided for the English congregation, and then an old powder magazine, which held six hundred persons, was converted into a cruciform church. Episcopal rule was a still distant boon. Mauritius was comprised nominally among the many islands and continents that belonged to the See of Calcutta: on the foundation of the See of Colombo it received much attention from Bishop Chapman, who, during a sojourn of six weeks, consecrated the churches and confirmed many people. In 1854 the Diocese of Mauritius was constituted, and Bishop Ryan was consecrated on St. Andrew's Day, the endowment being provided by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Christian Faith Society, and supplemented by a grant from Imperial funds.

The diocese is small, but the outlying portions of it are very remote. Mauritius itself is only about the size of the county of Worcestershire; but 900 miles to the north thirty islands form the Seychelles group, and 1,000 miles eastward of these lie the Chagos group, and nearer to Mauritius are several smaller islands. The population on all of these have a claim on the bishop's care, and receive from time to time his visits.

But if Mauritius be limited in area, the density of its polyglot population, the majority of whom are very migratory in their habits, make it a most important field for missionary work. Half of the population are Coolie immigrants, who, to the number of 250,000, are attracted thither from India, two-thirds coming from Bengal and one-third from Madras. The system is under Government management and the Coolies are well cared for; their

engagement is for five years, after which they either return to India, or, having acquired a taste for roaming, wander away to some other labour-market. It follows, then, that about 50,000 of these people are annually flowing into and sailing away from Mauritius, where they have been brought in contact with white men and the civilisation which they possess. Of these, some become Christians, some are converted to Mahometanism, others remain in heathenism. On the western coast there is a large population of Malagache from Madagascar, and of East Africans. Of the religious bodies working in Mauritius, the dominant one is, as is likely to be the case after a century of French occupation, the Roman Church. The two missionary societies of the English Church have supported teachers and clergy for many years; the necessity for the former, and the expense of supporting them, have been much lessened of late years by Government grants in aid; for the Coolies, clergymen, and catechists have been brought from India, the Bengali-speaking missionaries from Calcutta, while the Theological Seminary at Madras, which has trained so many native clergy for that diocese, has rendered a similar service to the Tamils in Mauritius. The work among these people has been very successful—a fact which is the more gratifying when it is considered that from their migratory habits they possess great facilities of carrying into all parts of the world the lessons of truth which they have received. Several natives have been admitted to Holy Orders, and their lives have been eminently self-denying and exemplary; at present only two such are among the clergy of the diocese, the others having died at their posts. Hurricanes and pestilences have sorely tried the people of Mauritius, and in 1867 the population was decimated by a virulent fever, which appeared likely never to leave the island: 35,000 persons died from it in the first six months of that year,

and there was then no sign of its abatement. In the midst of the sorrows of this visitation, heightened as they were by the presence of famine, Bishop Ryan laboured at the head of those who sought to alleviate the sufferings of the people. When the plague was over he returned to England and resigned the see. Two bishops who have succeeded him, Bishops Hatchard and Huxtable, have died, each after an episcopate of a few months only. The former found the climate fatal to him after a life spent in an English country parish; the latter had been tried by long residence in India, and subsequently in Mauritius, where he had laboured unceasingly as a missionary during the terrible fever.

The Seychelles group of islands are very important by reason of their geographical position. They are a convenient rendezvous for Her Majesty's ships which are engaged in the repression of the slave trade. In spite of our efforts, the whole interior of Central Africa is being drained of its population by professedly Christian nations. It has been mentioned in a previous paper that the Sultan of Zanzibar, who owes the position which he holds to the moral support of England, Portugal, America, and other Christian powers, derives a very large income from the traffic in human flesh; every slave that is brought into the market represents three or four more who have died either in resisting capture or under the cruelties inseparable from a long journey on foot and from the subsequent voyage; but when our sailors have done their work and captured a slaver, and brought her into an English port, their duty is ended. Some 30,000 slaves are by them discharged every year at the Seychelles; their liberty is given to them, but they know not what to do with it. The British officers, who have gained for them their freedom, sigh as they leave them, helpless although free, on soil that is strange to them. It seems to need simply the expen-

diture of money and thought to provide for the physical and spiritual wants of these people: it has been done already at St. Helena and Sierra Leone, and there can be no reason why what has occurred on the Western should not be repeated on the Eastern Coast of Africa.

So far from the truth is it that the establishment of a bishopric at Mauritius was unnecessary, and that the suppression of the see would involve no injurious consequences, that it is clear to all who will forecast the events of the next few years, that the see ought to be made metropolitan. Consolidation and confederation are among the foremost wants of our colonial churches just now; it is a hyper-papal policy of centralisation that binds the churches of our communion in either hemisphere to the See of Canterbury. Colonists will not tolerate such a policy in matters of temporal government; colonial Churchmen are not likely long to endure it in matters of ecclesiastical rule. It is true wisdom at an early date to group the dioceses as they increase in numbers and importance into their several Metropolitanates. It has been done in Australia, in New Zealand, in North America, in Southern Africa, by the action of the Church herself, and in India by the civil power. Mauritius will not long be the isolated see that it now is. In Madagascar, within a very few years, there will be more than one or two bishoprics, and the missionary episcopate for Central Africa, which at present lingers at Zanzibar, is, for practical purposes of communication, more remote from Capetown (of which province Bishop Tozer is a suffragan) than from England, while with Mauritius communication is both easy and frequent.

Here, then, might be formed a new province and college of bishops, who might from time to time take counsel together and devise plans for the extension of their work; their numbers would not, perhaps for some generations, be

large, neither their means abundant; but wealth and numbers are not the foremost considerations—the latter, if not the former, will come in time; the great thing is to have laid wisely and well the primitive and apostolic foundations of the Church, on which after generations will build up a lasting superstructure.

XXI.

In the preceding paper it has been shown that the peculiar condition of the population of Mauritius makes the Church in that island essentially of a missionary character; its most prominent and manifest duty in this respect is to carry the Gospel, in its integrity of faith and of organisation, to the neighbouring island of Madagascar. Within three days' sail of Port Louis, some 500 miles to the westward, this magnificent island, equal in area to the whole of France, with a population of between four and five millions, offers an almost boundless field for missionary effort. Roman missions were established here more than a hundred years ago, and had a monopoly of the country until 1818, when the English Independents sent fourteen teachers, who reduced the language to writing, translated much of the Holy Scriptures, and built two chapels in the capital, Antananarivo, besides establishing preaching stations elsewhere. They instructed many children in their schools, and about 200 adults made formal profession of Christianity. After a residence of ten years, on the death of King Radama I., the queen who succeeded to the throne, dreading with more than feminine jealousy the intercourse of civilised nations, cut off as far as possible all communication between her subjects and foreigners: the missionaries were ordered to withdraw from the island, and with this edict they complied; their converts, of course, were left behind, and were exposed to much persecution—not, as it would seem, simply

because they were Christians, but because, in the blind and unreasoning jealousy of the queen, Christianity appeared to be intimately connected with danger to her rule; the deaths which many of these young converts died were the punishment of supposed political offences rather than of the simple profession of a forbidden creed. What is known of their constancy and their faith is derived only from the testimony of their friends who survived, some of whom, to save their lives, had to remain in hiding for many years; and tradition, more or less oral, extending over a period of thirty-three years, from 1828 to 1861, is not to be implicitly relied on in matters of minor detail; nevertheless there is no reason to doubt the general accuracy of the statement that among these imperfectly-instructed Christians not a single case of cowardly apostacy occurred. In 1862, under the milder rule of Radama II., the island was again open to traders and to missionaries. The London Missionary Society returned to the work which they had abandoned a generation ago, and sent twelve missionaries. The Roman missions were restored in force, fourteen priests being immediately stationed at the capital alone. An embassy from the British Government was sent to the new king in 1862, and Bishop Ryan, then the Bishop of Mauritius, who was a member of the embassy, delivered to the heathen sovereign a Bible, which had been sent from the Queen of England for that purpose. On this occasion the bishop asked the king's permission to establish missions from the Church of England on the northern and eastern coasts of Madagascar, and the king expressed his readiness to receive Church missionaries at the capital itself. With a consideration, which subsequent events have shown to have been unfortunate, Bishop Ryan, lest he should seem to be discourteous to the dissenting missions, left the country at once, not waiting for the ceremony of the coronation, and

declaring that he would begin at the coast. This was done in consequence of an understanding arrived at previously between the bishop and the senior missionary of the Independent body, by which the latter pledged himself to occupy the capital and the adjoining villages. When a deputation of nobles afterwards waited on the bishop for the purpose of asking him to establish a Church mission in the capital, he declined to receive them.

It is right that this whole story should be told dispassionately, and the facts of the case be recorded. The line which the bishop pursued has proved to be an unfortunate one; and had he then known the circumstances of the country and of its population, he would probably have acted differently. Happily, his action in a country outside the limits of his own diocese in no degree pledged the Church of England; for to be excluded from the capital of Madagascar is to be excluded from all influence with the dominant race. There are many tribes in the island, some of whom have not yet been reached at all by missionaries; but over all the various tribes there is one ruling race, the Hovas. These reside at or near the capital; for purposes of government or of commerce they visit other places, but their head-quarters are always at the capital. More than this, there is a religious sentiment surrounding the capital which makes "Imerina," the province in which it is situated, to be to the Hovas what Jerusalem was wont to be to the Jews. The inland part of the island is very mountainous, the soil is rocky, and the climate healthy; on the coast and for miles inland, the whole region is a swamp, where fever of the most fatal kind is rife. This was the district, and among the slave population dwelling there, in which the Church of England commenced its labours. That the description of soil and climate given above is the true one, will be abundantly proved by the after-history of the

mission, and the tale of sickness and death which forms part of the chronicle of its doings. Nevertheless the presence of the Church in this deadly country has had this good effect; it has rendered false the accusation which used to be made with truth that "Protestant missionaries left the coast to the fever and to the devil," while they themselves lived at the capital. But though it has silenced this sneer, our position has hindered the growth of our work; it has made the Church appear among an eminently aristocratic race as a religion fit only for slaves; it has caused the use of the Prayer-book to be abandoned, even when it had been adopted for some time in the provinces, because on arrival at the capital our converts found it to be unknown, or, if known, to be regarded as the manual merely of the lower class.

The agreement made by Bishop Ryan with the Independents was unfortunate in its immediate consequences, as well as in the later results, which are felt at the present time. The opening of the kingdom of Madagascar in 1862 was too great an event to escape the notice of the Church at home; and early in 1863 a most influential committee, including the Archbishop of Canterbury and more than twenty bishops, as well as many influential laymen, was formed, without conference with the Bishop of Mauritius, for the purpose of sending and supporting a bishop in Madagascar. On the recommendation of Bishop Ryan, who returned to England on hearing of its proceedings, it was determined to accept his offer of personal superintendence of the missions to Madagascar, then about to be established, for three years, and to use all efforts during that time to raise the requisite funds for the sending to the island a bishop and clergy. In 1864 four young clergymen were sent. Messrs. Campbell and Maundrell, of the Church Missionary Society, were the first to sail, but in consequence of adverse winds they were

carried out of their course, and did not arrive at Vohimare, their station on the north, for some months; Messrs. Hey and Holding, the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, meanwhile had landed at Tamatave, the main port of the island on the east coast, which has since been the head-quarters of that mission. The work has been carried on in spite of great difficulties. Of the two missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, one died from the effects of the climate and the hardships to which he was exposed; and the other, after repeated attacks of fever, has had to return permanently to England. For years they lived in a native house, with a roof constructed only after the Madagascar fashion, through which the rain came freely, while beneath their feet the soil was like a sponge, the black water oozing through the sand perpetually. They built a sufficiently good church of wood with an iron roof, and here the daily service was held from the beginning. The Hovas stood aloof from them, the Romanists opposed them, and their efforts had to be directed principally to the Betsimisarakas, the lowest class of the people. A printing press was set up, and many hymns which had been translated were printed, together with occasional offices from the Prayer-book and other works. Out-stations were formed, and the whole coast was explored north and south of Tamatave for about 140 miles in all; the smaller stations have thrown out offshoots, and in spite of opposition, sickness, and death,—in spite of this mission having had for years only one ordained missionary, who was clergyman, schoolmaster, musician, printer, doctor, and general manager,—at the end of 1870 it had ten stations with five churches, it numbered between 500 and 600 baptized members, with an equal number of catechumens. The system of boldly, and in faith, relying on the services of converts answered thoroughly; and for years there have been among the native

catechists in this district at least two men in all respects worthy to be admitted to the diaconate, if only a bishop had been within reach to ordain them.

The clergy supported by the Church Missionary Society, from no fault of their own, but from the uncertainty which always surrounds work among a heathen people, have had a smaller measure of success. The station at Vohimare, which was the first which they founded on their arrival in 1863, they abandoned in 1866, in consequence of the migration of the people; nevertheless they had not laboured in vain during these three years: their teaching was treasured, and their few converts gained others from among their countrymen, and in 1869 the missionary was invited to return, and after a residence of eighteen months he was able to record forty-seven baptisms and thirteen marriages;—the latter being a very important feature in any work among a people so grossly immoral. The missions which were formed in the south after the temporary abandonment of Vohimare have been more successful; nevertheless here, as elsewhere, the Church has suffered from the fact that its missions have been placed in an unhealthy district, causing much sickness to the missionaries, and among a people that have no political influence in the kingdom.

The king who welcomed Bishop Ryan to Madagascar has long since been removed, and the subsequent government of the country has been in female hands. The greatest opposition has been offered to the extension of the Church to the capital, and to the government of its missions by a bishop. The understanding arrived at in 1862 by Bishop Ryan and the Dissenting missionaries has been unfortunate in every way. The offer of episcopal guidance of the Madagascar Missions made in 1863 by Bishop Ryan has never been realised, and never could have been realised: such guidance as could be given by correspondence has, no doubt, been given; but the

guidance which was limited to advice could as well have been given by a layman, and of practical knowledge of the needs of Madagascar and its infant Church, the Bishop of Mauritius possessed very little, inasmuch as his personal experience of Madagascar was limited to the six weeks spent in that country in 1862, as a member of the British embassy, and not as a missionary, and more than twelve months before any representative of the Church of England had established himself in the island. As a matter of fact, the Church has been represented to Hovas and Malagache as a Presbyterian body; of directly episcopal ministrations there has not been a shadow or a pretence; the converts have never seen a bishop; confirmation has never been administered, and the formation of a native ministry is rendered impossible while there is no bishop to convey to the candidates the grace of orders. Meanwhile Romanists, Norwegians, Swedes, Quakers, and Independents establish themselves where they will; and the Church of England, on the strength of an imaginary compact, which one of the supposed parties to it, Bishop Ryan, has been most eager to disavow, is restricted to the malarious coast district, and her ministrations are confined to the very lowest of the people. For, so long ago as 1866, Bishop Ryan declared that the Church was free, and was bound to place clergy at the capital, and that the time had come when a bishop should lead them. Increasing work among the Indians at Mauritius had convinced him of the impossibility of giving to Madagascar the personal care which young missions always require, and in 1868 he resigned the bishopric altogether. The delays of the civil authorities in doing their part towards filling that see, and the speedy deaths of his two successors, have shown only too painfully and too clearly the hopelessness of expecting that a work so vast as the oversight of the Madagascar Church can ever be undertaken as a parergon by the Bishop of Mauritius.

On what grounds a body of English Nonconformists, whose existence dates from the seventeenth century, can with hyper-papal autocracy monopolise a country, and resent the presence of other religious bodies, is an enigma which can be solved on no recognised principles of interpretation. Such a rule, if it were of universal acceptance,—and, as containing a great principle, it is simply untenable if not everywhere applicable,—would deprive that body of their very *raison d'être* in England; nay, it would banish them from Madagascar itself, since, if such claims rest on the mere fact of precedence in point of time, the Roman Missions anticipated them by at least a century. It is stated on good authority that the superstition which vests this supremacy in one body of Christians is so firmly accepted, that, while protesting against the extension of the Church, they have not only tolerated but even invited the presence of other Protestant bodies. Again and again the Hovas whom the missionaries of the Church have converted and baptized during their residence at the coast, have been discouraged on returning to the capital to find no congregation to which they could attach themselves; to discover that the Church to which they owed their spiritual life was despised as the Church of the outcast and the slave, and that the Prayer-book, to which they looked for teaching, was contemptuously flouted. And the missionaries who have spent their strength and risked their lives on the plague-stricken coast ask, not without legitimate indignation, "How long is our Church to be banished from the capital where Romanists and Dissenters of every kind live and work without let or hindrance, and how long are our missions to be crippled and deprived of that grace of the episcopate which alone can give them permanence and extension?" The answer of timid counsel is, "Until the Nonconformist missionaries, who had ten years' start of you, consent;" that is, until the Greek Kalends.

The answer of faithful men, who believe in the Church as the Divine organisation for the conversion of the world to Christ, will be, "Not a day." It is said, indeed, that the capital, and the whole province of which it is a part, is already Christian, and that the presence of another religious body—where now there are five, with all the varying shades of theological opinion, from Romanism to Quakerism—will disturb the delightful Christian peace which now pervades the happy province of Imerina. The conversion of a nation in a day may form the theme of a prophet's rhapsody—it is not seen in prosaic life; the numbers of Xavier's conversions have been vilipended by those who did not agree with his theology; the conversions in Madagascar, if they existed, would exceed anything that ever was recorded of Xavier. On the testimony of Nonconformists resident in the country, the morality of the people is still of the lowest type, and becomes not the more attractive by being lacquered over with a thin varnish of Christian phraseology. The Malagache are an intelligent and inquisitive people, and to talk of theological systems, and specially of their relations to the State, is natural to them, and, perhaps, is regarded by them as part of their religious duty. From their own statements, it is very clear that they are well trained in the tenets of political dissent, and are kept duly informed of the canards which appear in those English newspapers which flavour ultra-Radicalism with a modicum of such Nonconformist pietism as girds at episcopacy and other doctrines of the Church. It is among a people in whom the simplicity which is met with in the pure heathen has been marred by the politico-religious squabbles that distract us at home that the Church has now to do her work; few tasks can be more difficult, and it is humiliating to think that these difficulties have been increased by our own timidity. In a land where slavery is still practically an institution, the dominant race is prejudiced

against her and persecutes her members. This is no exaggerated statement; for there exists in Madagascar an institution known as "Fanompoana," that is to say, free labour given to the Government in lieu of taxes: this the Malagache can be called on to render at any time by the local authorities. The spirit of religious persecution is very often the first sign of any religious persuasion; and it is not to be wondered at if, as is often the case, a catechist or teacher is called away by a semi-heathen magistrate and made to pay this labour service just at the time when his people were gathered round him, and his work was beginning to tell. The Church, however, has survived greater difficulties than those which meet her in Madagascar. The creed which conquered the empires of the ancient world, and which leavens and purifies our modern civilisation, will not be baffled by the spurious religionism of a semi-heathen island, which is steeped in the foulest sensuality, while it repeats the intolerant shibboleths of the seventeenth century.

The relations of the Church of England to the people in Madagascar open out a great question,—viz., the attitude which the Church ought to assume in heathen countries of which other religious bodies have attempted the conversion. The answer to this will depend entirely on the measure of faith which each man possesses in the Church. Those who regard one religious body as being as good as another, who recognise in the Church no specially Divine organisation, to whom episcopacy and an ordained ministry and the Apostolic succession are matters of indifference, will, if they are consistent, allot the different countries of the world to those bodies, whether Romanist or otherwise, who have been first in the field. The test is not a very dignified one, but it will have the advantage of simplicity. Those who regard their Church as the Divine body on which the Holy Ghost descended, and to whom the ends of the earth shall be

given, will agree with the Bishop of Bombay, who, in defence of the charge of interference, recently said,—

"We, as a Church, have our own duties to the heathen, and our own responsibilities—duties entirely irrespective of what may be done by other Christian associations, and responsibilities from which nothing can deliver us. Every priest of the Church is bound at his ordination to seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for His children who are in this naughty world, that they may be saved through Christ for ever. Every member of the Church, as well as every priest, has been commanded by the King to go into all the world, by deputy if not by person, and make disciples of all nations. Every priest, therefore, by ordination, and every member of his congregation, is pledged to take his share in the conversion of the heathen." If we think that those who have separated from the Church at home have done so to their own misfortune, with what consistency can we accept their standard as sufficient for the heathen whom they convert?

The proposal, which has been made seriously, that the half-instructed Malagache should be afforded an opportunity of deciding after trial of various forms of Church worship, discipline, and government, which best suited them, carries with it its own refutation: it is parallel only to the proposal of an aged statesman that English children should be taught only that most indefinite thing, "our common Christianity," until their fifteenth year, at which time they would be able to decide for themselves whether they would "join any or what branch of the Christian Church," in which are contained all shades of faith, from Romanism to that of the "Peculiar People."

It has been attempted to justify this policy of non-interference by the precedent of great missionaries, even in apostolic times; but he would indeed be a bold man who

would pervert the conduct of St. Paul (Rom. xv. 20) into a policy which is content with an imperfect Gospel—in plain words, with "another Gospel." A great example of the present century has been quoted in testimony that the presence of the Church of England in Madagascar at all is an act of unchristian interference. It is said that the first Bishop of New Zealand carefully abstained from visiting those places where other missionaries had anticipated him. The answer to this statement is that, had he done so, he would most culpably have neglected to visit a considerable portion of New Zealand itself. In the journal of his first visitation, it is recorded that on reaching the southern island he found that the Maories had been carefully trained by Wesleyans to discriminate between Weteri (Wesley) and Hahi (Church), and that they asked him at once to which he belonged; but it would be ridiculous to suppose that in that southern island, which has now three bishoprics, the Bishop of New Zealand recognised the exclusive freehold of the Wesleyans. It is true that when Bishop Selwyn went beyond his diocesan limits, and entered on the work of that noble Melanesian Mission, where he had his choice of some 200 islands, each with its own language or languages, and extending over 60 degrees of longitude, and where he could only hope to make an impression on a few, he passed by those which had already been the subjects of missionary effort, and which happened to be in the healthiest latitudes; and with unselfish boldness, akin to that which made the Church missionaries content to labour and die on the fever-stricken coast of Madagascar, while others enjoyed the purer air of the mountainous inland region, Bishop Selwyn pushed on to the equatorial groups, where Europeans pay the penalty of continual residence.

Had these 200 islands been compacted into a continent, it is preposterous to suppose that the bishop would have refrained from landing on it because on one, and that the

healthiest, portion of it some Nonconformist missionaries had landed before him; indeed, the bishop's conduct in New Zealand contradicts the ridiculous hypothesis. The whole question is one which must be decided by circumstances, and surely the man to whom is entrusted a work at once the most sublime and the most unselfish that can be entrusted to mortal,—viz., the conversion of the heathen,—must be competent to act on his own judgment *pro re natâ*, without being fettered by persons at home, whose knowledge must be very imperfect, but whose prejudices may be strong. Agreements as to non-interference are always undesirable, and those who are parties to them live very often to repent of their action.

We have quoted the conduct of Bishop Selwyn, a noble type of a missionary, and the arguments of the Bishop of Bombay, whose episcopate promises to be distinguished by large measures of missionary zeal, and we conclude with an extract from a recent journal of one who for more than a quarter of a century has been a faithful pioneer of the Church of Christ, and who freely acknowledges the good that other bodies have done for the heathen. The present Bishop of Grahamstown, better known as Archdeacon Merriman, writes,—"The scruples I once entertained about teaching on the field, or rather supposed field, of other missionary bodies has of late years been largely modified; for when thousands and tens of thousands are perishing for lack of knowledge, and are without a teacher, it is quite idle for missionary bodies to claim territorial boundaries, and so between them to try and shut out the English Church from approaching the masses of heathenism that yet lie around us. At all events, our fellow-Christians 'of other denominations' act so freely on this principle in regard to our parishes in England, that they cannot be surprised at our doing the like in regard to the assumed territorial boundaries which they have marked out for themselves in South Africa."

XXII.

"*The white man's grave*" is the ill-sounding title which Sierra Leone has earned for itself, and if at no distant period its moral condition had been described truly, some equally ill-sounding term must have been used. The whole of the West Coast of Africa, indeed, still bears the marks of the slave trade, for which, at one time, it would seem to have existed. The natives were regarded for long as the merchandise of those who called themselves the superior races, and, just as the nobility of a people is the greater when it has been handed down from generation to generation, so the long-continued degradation under which the African has suffered makes the process of his civilisation the more arduous. So far back as the year 1752 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent an itinerating missionary to the negroes on the Guinea coast, and some fifteen years later a native African, educated and ordained in England, was sent to the same region; but these were merely desultory efforts. The whole credit of the evangelisation of Sierra Leone, and much of the adjoining country, is due to the Church Missionary Society. "*Africa and the East*,"—these were the regions for whose benefit that society was originally founded at the beginning of the present century, and in 1804 it commenced its labours in the then almost unexplored coasts of Western Africa. In an earlier paper, the difficulties of missionary work in India have been detailed; they can hardly be more numerous or more serious

than those which were presented at Sierra Leone. The two countries are, in truth, widely different: of the civilisation which meets one in the East, there is not a shadow in Africa; the variety of races and of tongues is to be found, but the toil of acquiring the languages meets with no reward beyond the power of exchanging ideas with the people. It opens the door to no literature, and throws light on no historic civilisation. With the people the English teacher can have little in common, for he finds them steeped in the barbarism begotten by generations of slavery, and a prey to the vices which naturally beset a people for whom the future presents nothing bright nor elevating. Sunk in superstition, the victims of sorceries and witchery, living in dread of fetishes, and putting trust in amulets and charms,—these are the people among whom seventy years of faithful labour have raised the Standard of the Cross, and established a Church which is no longer dependent on external aid, whether for men or for money, but which gives her own sons to the ministry of the Word and Sacraments. It was indeed a forlorn hope on which those pioneers of the Gospel set out; forlorn, whether we regard the material out of which they essayed to build up a Christian community, or the certainty of sickness and death to themselves. To die at their posts was the lot of many of them—a lot cheerfully accepted. The mortality in this mission has been without parallel, if we except the small staff which has of late years resided at Zanzibar; the soil "which the slave trade had dyed with blood" has been watered with the blood of patient martyrs, and over their graves a goodly tree has sprung up.

The missions of the Church had hardly commenced in these parts, when, in 1807, England abolished her own slave trade. In this colony, in the following year, there were liberated slaves who spoke more than one hundred languages. In the first ten years one half of the missionaries were buried

in the land for whose conversion they had toiled. Such a sacrifice was necessary at first; but all along the need of a native ministry was recognised, and preparations were made for training catechists and pastors selected from the converts. It would be easy to relate the toil and sacrifices which have marked the progress of the West African Church; it will be sufficient to show its present condition, and to compare it with its small beginnings. Ignoring for a moment the offshoots of the early mission, there are now in the Diocese of Sierra Leone forty-three clergy, of whom twenty-nine are natives. The institution which the Church Missionary Society established at Fourah Bay has more than answered the designs of its founders: its advantages have been sought by native chiefs for their sons, just as in Southern Africa Kafir chiefs, while remaining heathens, have sent their sons to the college at Capetown. It is of course a great matter thus to train the future rulers of the land; but the greater work is to train from among the people their own sons, who shall return to their homes and minister in sacred things to their kindred. The men trained within these walls are no ill-instructed guides; the very books which they study are a refutation of the charge that the African intellect is incapable of high cultivation: *Butler's Analogy* and *Whateley's Logic* are standard books in the institution; its students have a critical knowledge of the Greek Testament, and the attainments of the native clergy have secured for some of them appointments as chaplains under the Government.

Until 1851 the Church of Sierra Leone had received no episcopal ministrations; there were more than 10,000 members, of whom one-fifth were communicants; a whole generation had grown up, baptized in infancy, but unconfirmed; four native clergymen had been brought to England for ordination, and the extension both of the Church and of the

indigenous ministry demanded a resident bishop. The demand was met, and the first three bishops of Sierra Leone died within seven years. Bishop Vidal was consecrated in 1852, and in 1854 he sank after a fatiguing visitation, in which he had confirmed 600 persons. Bishop Weeks, who had been inured to the climate by a long service in the country as a missionary, reached the diocese after his consecration in November, 1855; in sixteen months his labours were terminated by fever. During his brief episcopate he had added to the ranks of the clergy eleven natives. Bishop Bowen, who was consecrated in 1857, died in May, 1859. Few more noble records of Christian heroism can be found than the simple story which tells how the vacant places in the Church of Sierra Leone have been filled. How in the din of battle, with passions excited and nerves strung up, soldiers have stepped forward into the ranks that have been swept by the enemy's fire, and have taken the vacant post of peril, the history of our great wars does not fail to show; but here, in calm faith and not in the heat of passion, without hope of earthly glory or reward, the soldiers of the Cross have come forward and been "baptized for the dead" with the baptism of suffering and of pain.

It is time, however, to mention the developments of the Church of Sierra Leone, which commenced before the arrival of the first bishop, and which have been of a very remarkable character. Some 1,300 miles to the eastward of Sierra Leone lies the Yoruban country; for generations it seems to have been the spoil of neighbouring tyrants,—kings of Dahomey, and Mahometan Fellatahs,—who struggled with each other for the possession of its people, in order to sell them for slaves. Half a century ago a small company of Yorubans, hunted from place to place, took refuge in a cave, and their comparative safety induced many others to join them. The little society outgrew the cave, and becoming

bolder, ventured out into the hills, and built huts, and began to cultivate the land. Others joined them, until the refugees of 130 towns had been collected together. They built their separate villages, calling them after the names of their former homes, and the whole colony they called Abbeokuta. Within thirty years their numbers had grown to 80,000—an industrious, peaceful community of heathens, who offered even human sacrifices to the divinities in which they believed. Many Yorubans, who had not escaped the grasp of the man-stealer, had been released from the ships which were carrying them across the Atlantic and had been landed at Sierra Leone. There they were converted by the missionaries to the Christian faith, and with this faith and knowledge they desired to return to their own land. In 1842 some 300 of them had carried to Abbeokuta a report of English kindness, and of the English religion which they had learned; and the heathen, moved by the strange tidings, sent messengers to Sierra Leone, praying that teachers might be given to them. A young catechist named Townsend (a name for ever bound up with the evangelisation of this region) started at once to inspect the country, and was warmly welcomed. He was a layman, and he had to go to England to be ordained. The following year he set out for Abbeokuta with two clergymen, of one of whom, Mr. Crowther, more will be said presently. For two years they were detained at the coast by the disturbed state of the country, but at length they reached Abbeokuta itself, and in the open streets, in the markets, in the piazzas of the chiefs' houses, anywhere and everywhere, the Gospel was preached. The progress of this mission has been chequered, but not permanently checked, by the persecution of heathen potentates, who cannot forgive the suppression of the slave trade and the introduction of lawful commerce. The atrocities of the neighbouring kings of Dahomey, with whom murders and

bloodsheddings are everyday occurrences, have reached the Abbeokuta Christians. In 1867 all the churches, save one, were despoiled, the missionaries were forbidden to assemble the people for worship, and finally they had to retire to Lagos; but the first to return was a native priest. One of the churches which had been destroyed was rebuilt by a chief as an act of expiation, and out of the apparent extinction of Christianity there arose a greater zeal than had before existed. The Yoruba Mission, then, which is not yet thirty years old, has covered the whole region. Out of a colony of idolaters, some 3,000 converts are now living in cheering contrast to the heathenism which surrounds them. Already five native clergy minister to them, and in the schools the next generation is being taught the truths which were once unknown to their parents.

Missionary literature is declared to be always dull and commonplace; readers who are content with the truth must forego the excitement of fiction. But surely truth is often stranger than fiction; and if a novelist were to sketch the history of a slave boy, who was bartered first for a horse and returned as an unfair exchange, and on two subsequent occasions was bartered for rum and tobacco; whose spirit was then so broken that he tried to commit suicide; who was afterwards sold to Portuguese traders, rescued by an English vessel, converted to Christianity, educated, and ultimately ordained, and was consecrated a bishop;—if a novelist could imagine such a series of events, he could not fail to be acceptable to the readers of sensational literature. If he drew still more largely on his fancy, and declared that the parents from whom the slave had been wrenched in his childhood he met again after a separation of twenty-five years, that his heathen relatives received from him their first knowledge of Christian truth, and that his mother died under the roof of her son's episcopal residence, it would be

said, perhaps, that fancy had exceeded the limits of probability. And yet this is a simple history in barest outline of the Bishop of the Niger country. Edjai, a Yoruban lad, was seized by a Mahometan gang in 1821; he went through the vicissitudes detailed above, until he found himself on board H. M. S. "Myrmidon," free and petted by officers and crew; he was baptized, in 1825, "Samuel Crowther," the name of a well-known London clergyman. Educated in the Church Missionary Society's Institution at Fourah Bay, he was ordained in 1843, and accompanied Mr. Townsend to Abbeokuta. There, in the country whence he had been dragged into slavery, he found his mother and sisters, and was the means of bringing them into the Church. Yet fourteen years later, in 1857, he founded the mission in the Niger country. Here, as in ancient times, the missionary bishop has confronted heathen monarchs and told them of their error. The bishop (for Mr. Crowther was consecrated Bishop of the Niger in 1864) has more than once been seized and his life imperilled. The slave trade, cannibalism, polygamy, the ignorance of heathens, the fanaticism of Mahometans, these are the obstacles against which he has had to contend.

In 1867 a substantial church was built at a place called "Onitsha;" at the same time the daughter of an influential chief resolved to be baptized in spite of the remonstrances of her friends. These two events raised the jealousy of the heathen to fever heat: the Christians were fined, and with the fine a female slave was purchased and dragged two miles to the river side, and there sacrificed to the gods to atone for the sin which had tolerated Christianity in the land. When the passions of the people were thus roused, Bishop Crowther demanded an audience of the king. He showed how much better a subject he was himself as a Christian, than he would have been had he remained a heathen. The

king at first relented so far as to order all Christians out of the land, guaranteeing to them a safe exit; but this edict he cancelled, and toleration was established. "Safety ever accompanies duty," said a native pastor on that occasion; "when we are in God's way we are under God's wing; protection and preservation we shall have if God may thereby be glorified; but sometimes danger is better than safety, and a storm more useful than a calm." His words are capable of a wide application. Would that persons would remember that peace and safety are not necessarily the chief good, nor caution always the highest virtue!

This work, now carried on by a native bishop and nine native clergymen, is strictly an indigenous mission; in this respect it is unique among Anglican missions. Not a single European has a share in it. There is a difficult future before it, but the obstacles already surmounted give promise for the future, and prove the capacity of the African for self-government and self-support.

By this mission the horrible slave trade has received a great check; the practice of human sacrifice is at an end within the Niger country, and the neighbouring chiefs find themselves unable to procure slaves to be immolated by their priests. Instead of the indolence which accompanies the easy gains of the slave dealer, commerce with its attendant activity has been introduced far up the rivers. The future of the country as a Christian land is all the brighter for being under the care of a missionary bishop who can take so wise and practical a view of the position as does Bishop Crowther in the following passage:—"The Gospel must now be followed by the plough and the workshop; industrial schools must be established. The Mahometan system of begging will thus be corrected, the folly of indolence will be exposed, and the native Christians, earning their liveli-

hood by honest labour, will also contribute, as Christians ought to do, for the support of their Church." And the man who wrote these words, in which are contained the soundest principles of Christian and political economy, was once a negro slave.

XXIII.

In addition to the labours of the Church Missionary Society, and of the now indigenous churches which that society has been the means of planting, there are on the West Coast of Africa two fields occupied by other agencies in communion with the Church of England: they each have their special interest in that they are the efforts of daughter churches. Immediately adjoining the English colony of Sierra Leone is the American republic of Liberia, and still eastward of this is the independent colony of Maryland, better known to us by the name of Cape Palmas. In this country, which has a seaboard of between 300 and 400 miles, and with a breadth inland varying from 100 to 30 miles, the Church of the United States has had missions since 1835, which since 1851 have been under a resident bishop. The republic of Liberia was founded in 1821 by free blacks, who were sent from North America under the auspices of the American Colonisation Society. The object of its founders was to provide an outlet for the blacks, who might enjoy a degree of independence which local prejudices would refuse to them on American soil: it was supposed, too, that the example having once been set, the policy of manumission would be very generally adopted. These were the objects proposed by many humane men who joined the Colonisation Society: they regarded hopefully the prospect of introducing Christianity and civilisation among the 30,000,000 negroes who inhabited Western Africa. There were those, however,

who thought that, by exporting from America the free negro population, they should secure the permanence of slavery when the natural guardians of the servile people were removed. Against this policy some of the American bishops boldly protested, and as an effort of colonisation the scheme has not been a success. The work of the Church, however, has been a noble one: the difficulties have been enormous—foremost among them is the climate, which has swept away very many of the missionary staff. There have also been political difficulties: the Mission of Liberia has been dependent for its government on the bishop at Cape Palmas, and there have been disputes from time to time as to any supposed jurisdiction which the bishop of an American colony claimed to exercise in an independent republic. These, however annoying, have not permanently obstructed the work of the mission. It has been eminently blessed in its first bishop, who is worthy of being classed with the best missionaries of any age. Arriving in Africa in 1837, and consecrated in 1851, he continued at his post for thirty-four years, and only when permanently disabled for further work did he resign his bishopric in 1871. For twenty-one years his wife shared *his* labours, and undertook many others which only a woman could fulfil. In spite of feeble health she never rested, founding schools and superintending their management, and visiting the heathen in their smoky huts: in her own words, she "laboured for them as long as she could, and then she ceased not to pray for them."

The heathen and Mahometan tribes which crowd into Liberia, and extend indefinitely into the interior beyond, are the ever-widening fields which beckon the missionary to advance. The difficulties of his work are much increased by the close contact into which the heathen and the converts are brought, and apostacies are not unfrequent. It

has been found necessary to defer the baptism of the children in the boarding-schools until it is tolerably certain that they will remain ; for many, after being baptized, have been claimed by their parents, and girls have been claimed by their husbands—girls of six years of age, who have been betrothed, and part of whose dower has been paid. The thought of baptized children running wild in the bush with their heathen families has been a great grief to the clergy. It is needless to state that among adults only recently converted from heathenism, still familiar with its vices and customs, and with dispositions prone to fall into them, not a few have been unable to resist, and have lapsed into the idolatry from which for a time they had escaped. Nevertheless the work of the last thirty-five years, which has cost so many lives and drawn forth so much self-denial, cannot be said to have failed. Beyond the general impression made in the neighbouring tribes, a mission cannot have been in vain of whose clerical staff of thirteen eleven are natives of the country, which has 500 communicants, and from its schools is training the best of its sons to minister to their brethren as ordained priests and deacons.

Such is briefly the work of the American Church on the West Coast : the second mission, of which mention has been made, is some 180 miles north of Sierra Leone, and is the work of the Church in Barbados. The Rev. H. J. Leacock, who, as a native of that island, had witnessed throughout his whole life the many wrongs that had been done to Africa, endeavoured in 1854 to found a mission, which should in some degree atone for the physical sufferings of her children by offering to them spiritual gifts. He gave himself to the work, for the only tie that had hitherto kept him in his parish was now broken by the death of his wife of cholera. Landing with Bishop Weeks at Sierra Leone, in 1855, he was uncertain where to commence his work, when his atten-

tion was directed to the Pongas rivers and the country adjoining. Her Majesty's ship "Myrmidon" gave him a free passage, and her commander, Captain Buck, introduced him to King Katty, who promised to protect him, and to send him children to be educated. King Katty was not a very interesting person: he had been brought up in the atmosphere of the slave trade, and suspected missionary work as being hostile to it; moreover, the Mahometan chiefs, who were his neighbours, did all in their power to prejudice him against Mr. Leacock. He promised fairly enough; but when the "Myrmidon" had sailed away, and Mr. Leacock and his lay-colleague were alone on that terrible coast, amid a heathen and Moslem people, all was changed. The children did not come to be taught, but their parents came and stole everything that they could secretly carry away from the unprotected hut in which these evangelists lived; then Mr. Leacock was attacked by fever, and all things combined to damp his energy and to try his faith. While lying in his hut, hands and feet swollen with mosquito bites, and coast fever weighing him down, the pilfering natives teaching him in no uncertain manner the apparent hopelessness of the task which he had undertaken, he received a strange visitor: this was Lewis Wilkinson, son of a chief of Fallangia, who brought an invitation from his father. No change could well be a change for the worse, so Mr. Leacock went with him, ill as he was. On arriving at Fallangia the old chief greeted him with the words, "Welcome, dear sir, to this roof, thou servant of the Most High," and then, with much agitation, he repeated the "Te Deum." Here in the heart of a heathen land, overrun with the abominations of the slave trade, was a petty chief welcoming a clergyman for his office sake, and giving thanks in the words of the Church's Song of Praise. An explanation was ready: the chief in his boyhood had been edu-

cated under the roof of a clergyman in England; returning to Africa in 1813, while still retaining his English name, he had fallen into heathenism. For twenty-two years there was no thought in him of the better things which he had once known and learned: then in 1835 a severe illness brought him to himself, and for twenty years he had been endeavouring to recover the teaching of his boyhood, and had prayed that a missionary might be sent to him. That prayer was now answered, and the old man's joy knew no bounds: he at once gave land and a residence to Mr. Leacock, until a permanent building could be erected. The mission-house was ultimately built by the American and the English Churches, the very slaves in the Southern States contributing to the cost. This was not very ruinous: £50 was all that was required. The friends of the mission in Sierra Leone recommended a more convenient and costly structure, but Mr. Leacock wrote,—"Such a house cannot be built but at a great expense: we have a fine site, cool and dry, and mud for walls will serve any of God's missionaries, and grass is a cool covering for them; if a missionary wants marble and cedar, *we don't want him.*"

These were the words of an old man, who had already suffered much from the climate; but his patience was equal to his courage. When recovering from an attack of fever he wrote,—"As invalids, we require good, nourishing, but simple diet: ground-nut soup and boiled cassava are not exactly the thing, nevertheless we are satisfied."

Nothing is more noble and striking than the way in which he mentions, in his letters to Barbados, the frequent attacks which prostrated both himself and his companion, and the unfailing cheerfulness with which he declares that it is only an acclimatising process. In the intervals of fever he worked with his might: the chiefs from far and near, who had known Wilkinson by trading with him, now came to see

his missionary. The old chief died in 1861, having done his utmost to support the infant Church, but long before this, in 1856, Mr. Leacock had sunk under an attack of fever. Charles Wilkinson succeeded his father as Chief of Domingia, and Lewis Wilkinson became Chief of Fallangia: at both of these stations, as well as elsewhere, the Church has been planted, the Prayer-book has been translated into Su-Su, and as many as 300 persons have been baptized in one year. Deadly as the country has proved, it has had a powerful attraction for zealous and devoted men. Mr. Leacock has not been the only martyr of the Pongas; others have braved the same dangers, and have met with the same fate. His immediate successor, Mr. Higgs, died almost before he landed, in consequence of the exposure of the voyage from Sierra Leone. Mr. Neville, an English clergyman, who volunteered in 1858, lived hardly three years, during which his great energy had produced vast results. It was not merely the Gospel that the missionaries introduced. In the train of this, the supreme civiliser, many of the fruits of civilisation followed: factories and printing presses have been established, and the people have been taught both to grow cotton with more success and to dress it afterwards by machinery, until it is worthy of the English market. Industry is the great antidote to the slave trade, and until that traffic is extirpated, the field is not fairly open for the Christian missionary. In spite of many calamities,—of which the deaths of the missionaries have not been the only ones, for fire has destroyed the buildings, the opposition of the heathen has followed the mission with calumny and misrepresentation, and some who have given promise of devoted service have not realised our expectations,—the mission may now be considered established. Its staff is wholly composed of natives, to whom the climate is not the enemy that it is to the European; others are being trained at Barbados,

who in time will add to their numbers. A station on the Isles de Los, some six miles from the coast, is a Sanatorium where invalids can obtain fresh air, pure water, and a greater variety of food than is to be had on the mainland; the work of evangelising a people demoralised by all the evils of the slave trade, and who live in a climate which is fatal to Europeans, is not accomplished without much loss of life and many discouragements. Twenty years ago the Pongas country was known only to slaves and to the heathen and Mahometan inhabitants; its present condition forbids our doubting about its future.

XXIV.

A PEOPLE whose ancestors were buccaneers or slaves, or who at least lived on the spoils of pirates or slave-owners, are not the people likely to be conspicuous for Christian zeal and devotion; and this is, in brief, the history of the original population of the West Indian Islands. Among these races, here and there, some self-denying men laboured; and especially in Barbados, in 1710, General Codrington set a noble example of devotion, by bequeathing two estates in the island, "for the maintenance of professors and scholars," with the view of "doing good to men's souls." This was the honest phrase which the brave and accomplished old soldier used. Social elevation was not his first object, but in manly, God-fearing spirit he wished "to do good to men's souls." His design has been accomplished; for, besides the good done to the island of Barbados, it is from this foundation that the labourers in the Pongas Mission, mentioned in the last paper, have been sent forth. But such men, though bright, were rare exceptions. The work of the Church was for long dull and inert. In 1824 the two Bishoprics of Jamaica and Barbados were founded; but the position of the Church was much like that of the Indian Church at the present day—it was an appanage of the civil power rather than a purely spiritual society. The stipends of the bishops were provided from public funds, and the Legislature, which mapped the islands into parishes, assigned to each a rector and a curate, whose incomes were

a charge on the public revenue. In theory such a system is excellent; it is a public recognition on the part of the civil authorities of the duties of caring for the spiritual well-being of the people. In practice it is not provocative of zeal, either among the clergy or their flocks. There was not in the West Indies, as in the East, the same open field for missionary work; for, until 1834, the state of the slave population depended on the will of their owners, without whose permission the clergy did not venture to approach them. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if, in a society so constituted, there were frequent outbreaks on the part of the slaves, which were repressed at the cost of much bloodshed and cruelty; or that the clergy, who were regarded by the slaves as in league with their masters, were not acceptable to them; and that Baptists and Wesleyans possessed great influence over an ignorant race, easily won by fervid preaching and a religion of excitement.

In 1842 the Diocese of Barbados was divided into three, the Archdeaconries of Guiana and Antigua being made separate sees. In 1861 the Bahamas, which had formed the poorest part of the Diocese of Jamaica, received their first bishop. This is by far the most difficult part of the West Indies in which a clergyman can labour. The group of islands are separated by bays and gulfs, through which the Atlantic rolls in full force. The population, therefore, is widely scattered; communication between one island and another is very difficult; the missionary itinerates as best he may, but his visits are at such wide intervals that his preachings and baptizings have been compared to a shepherd setting his mark on his sheep and then turning them out in the wilderness, with little prospect of seeing them again.

In those islands where the Church has enjoyed the largest amount of State aid its influence is the least felt. In the Bahamas and in Antigua, where the poverty of the

distant islands is of the most abject kind, the ministrations of the Church are most valued, and the greatest sacrifices are made to obtain them. These dioceses have recently been subjected to a process of gradual disendowment, which has found them ill prepared to meet such a change. The ecclesiastical organisation is imperfect, and the relation which the Church has borne to the State has prevented the consolidation of the several sees into a provincial synod, so that no machinery existed, on the avoidance of the sees of Barbados and Jamaica, for electing new bishops. Nevertheless, it is a noteworthy fact that, simultaneously with the disestablishment of the former see, the Church people in the island of Trinidad determined to have a bishop of their own, provided a sufficient income, and elected the Rev. R. Rawle, formerly Principal of Codrington College, who was consecrated in Lichfield Cathedral on St. Peter's Day, 1872, and sailed immediately afterwards. This is surely a fact which proves that times of depression are sometimes times of extension and of progress.

Although on the mainland of South America, the Diocese of Guiana has generally come to be classed with the West Indian sees; and when a West Indian province is formed, it will probably form a part of it. Bishop Austin, the first and present occupant of the see, after an episcopate of thirty years, is now the senior of the colonial bishops.

The early attempts to colonise this country, whose area is larger than that of Great Britain and Ireland, were not happy. It was the El Dorado of Raleigh, from which that unfortunate adventurer returned to his prison and to death. Neither Portuguese, nor Dutch, nor French, seem to have been successful. Under the English rule its resources have been developed, and its wealth has been brought to this country to be spent. Among the early labourers who ministered to the slave population, the Moravians—those

ubiquitous evangelisers—are conspicuous. For seventy years they had the field to themselves in the Berbice, and then they retired.

In 1831 the Church Missionary Society worked with considerable success among the Indians in the Essequibo; but in 1853, when the Government determined to establish a convict settlement in the neighbourhood of their mission, the Society withdrew from the colony. In 1834 the negroes became apprenticed labourers, and in 1838 were fully emancipated. Bishop Coleridge took great pains to anticipate this event by providing them with all the appliances of religion.

In 1840 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel secured the services of a clergyman and a catechist, who should work among the Indians. The clergyman was at the last moment unable to sail, and the catechist, Mr. Brett, went alone. No more successful missionary work has been accomplished in any country or in any age than on the rivers of Guiana, and the prime agent throughout has been Mr. Brett. He arrived two years before the establishment of the episcopate. From Bishop Austin, whether as archdeacon or bishop, he has received that cordial assistance and support which such a bishop would be sure to give; but throughout the design and the execution of all the schemes for converting the Indian have been Mr. Brett's alone. There are four distinct races among whom our missions have been established,—the Arawaks, Caribs, Waraus, and Acawoios.

The three first of these tribes have been living side by side in the coast district for 300 years, and not the slightest intermixture of their language has taken place. It was among the Arawaks on the Pomeroon River that Mr. Brett first began to work. His residence was one of three ruinous huts; tiger-cats and snakes were the most

frequent companions of his solitude. He was a young man, and the Indians have an *à priori* respect only for old age. He commenced a school for the negro children, thinking their example would be followed, but it had exactly a contrary effect; for the antipathy of the Indians to the negroes was almost invincible. The sorcerers of the country, seeing their craft was in danger, threatened death to all who listened to the white man; and under these influences the natives did everything, short of committing personal violence, to drive Mr. Brett away. There was nothing in the missionary's surroundings to impress the savages. In all the matters of daily life they were his superiors. The civilisation which they met with in the towns, they cared not for in the woods. They could build their canoes, and manage them dexterously when built; with their arrows they could bring down the wild animals which abounded in the forest, or they could catch the fish in the rivers at will; but the white man was only a poor, effeminate creature, living in one of their huts, but manifestly without their powers of adapting himself to such a condition, while for his food he was dependent on their skill and their benevolence. All these discouragements, with the addition of frequent attacks of fever, enough to break down ordinary faith, did not drive away Mr. Brett. He visited again and again the settlements, not only of the Arawaks, but of the Caribs, a neighbouring tribe. The day broke in time. For ten years Mr. Brett lived alone; but long ere this his work had begun to tell. A single Indian, named Sacabarri, in spite of sorcerers and the arguments of friends, came, like Nicodemus of old, and asked to receive instruction. He gave two of his children to be taught, and then the spell was broken. The chief of the Arawaks promised his friendship, more than a hundred of his tribe joined the Church, and the school was full.

In 1843 the bishop visited the mission, and the fruit of three years' work was seen in forty natives, who were confirmed and admitted to communion. Mr. Brett at this time was ordained deacon. The infant Church had hitherto been gathered together by a young catechist and his first convert. Of the latter, who at his baptism received the name Cornelius, it must be recorded that, until his death in 1868, he continued the unwearied servant of the Church, and with his last words he charged his sons to continue the labours in which for twenty-eight years he had found so great delight.

The work among the Caribs was as successful as was that among the Arawaks; the Waraus were approached at a later period. In 1851 more than a thousand Arawaks and Caribs had been baptized; and on the occasion of the bishop's visit members of the two tribes, who for generations had never met without indulging in all the cruelty of Indian warfare, knelt side by side in fullest amity to receive the Holy Eucharist. The success had not been uninterrupted by any means. Small-pox at one time decimated the people; and the scourge was declared by the sorcerers to be in revenge for their harbouring Christian teachers. Mr. Brett's health gave way more than once, and he was obliged to retire to the capital city, and even to England; and during his absence a pseudo-Christ arose among the tribes and claimed their allegiance, but not one of them apostatised; and the visitation of sickness, so far from prejudicing them against the Gospel, rather humbled them to receive it as a wholesome discipline. All this time Mr. Brett was diligently at work reducing the several languages, with their numerous dialects, to an intelligible system.

In 1853 the Acawoios came to inquire into the merits of Christianity. A chief and twenty-four attendants were sent as an embassy. They bore an evil reputation as poisoners

and thieves; they have now been gathered in in large numbers. The chief was not baptized until 1866; and after two years he died, mainly in consequence of the long journeys which he had taken at his advanced age to visit the mission, and to secure for his people the blessings of the faith. His efforts have been rewarded; for his people are now the most promising of the four races of which we have spoken. In 1867 Mr. Brett made an expedition to the Acawoios living above the great Falls of the Demerara River. An English settler undertook, with the help of two native youths and the Catechisms which Mr. Brett had translated, to continue to instruct them when he had left. The following year the Indians learned that the bishop would come up the river to the foot of the falls, and there they determined to meet him. On his arrival he found that the Indians had carried their canoes to the foot of the rapids, and had formed an encampment while waiting for him. It was a scene which recalled the events of a far earlier age of the Church. There in the primeval forest was a tribe of Pagans earnestly seeking Christian instruction. The bishop remained with them for days, and, after examination, baptized 241 adults and 145 children. Two days were spent in the administration of this sacrament. The earnestness of the recipients, the reverent awe which possessed the lookers-on, the ground streaming with the baptismal water poured over each in succession,—these made up a scene almost unique and never to be forgotten. The chief, wishing to be more within reach of instruction, cleared a settlement at the foot of the Cascades, near the scene of their baptism, and built a school chapel there. A catechist remained behind with them; and the archdeacon paid a visit to the mission ten months after the bishop had been there: seventy-nine Acawoios were then baptized, making 535 baptisms within ten months in the

district where, two years before, the Gospel had never been heard.

In 1871 the bishop and Mr. Brett made a visitation of the missions on the Pomeroon and Essequibo. At one station they found a beautiful church, which had been built by the Indians in four years, under the direction of Mr. McCloggin, their catechist, who is a native of Africa. Thus the red men of Guiana, who had been won to the Gospel by a white missionary, receive their instruction from a black teacher. Mr. Brett's labours have been so abundant, that there is now no Indian people within the limits of Guiana who cannot learn the rudiments of the faith in their own tongue from the translations which Mr. Brett has made, and which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has printed. On this occasion a supply of Catechisms had been sent some weeks in advance of the bishop. They had been well used; for no sooner had Mr. Brett begun the Lord's Prayer in their language, than the whole tribe took it up, and their voices were as the sound of many waters.

The thirty years of work performed by Mr. Brett represent more of "peril, toil, and pain" than are to be found in many of the semi-mythical labours which have conferred on the doers of them the honours of canonisation. Soldiers and statesmen have deservedly received peerages and pensions for services infinitely less arduous — yet who has heard of Mr. Brett? He has written a very interesting book, which has been read perhaps by one person out of every hundred thousand of the people of England, and by many of them even has been forgotten; but of himself and his labours—whether he still lives or whether his labours are ended — who beyond his few friends knows? How different is the treatment which the man receives who deserves well of the State from the honour in which the Christian soldier is held!

Besides the missions to the aborigines, with whose conversion the memory of Mr. Brett will for ever be connected, the vast Coolie population of the diocese has not been overlooked. In temporal matters these people just now seem likely to receive every attention; in spiritual things they have long been cared for. Their diversity of race and language adds much to the difficulty of doing so. From Bengal and from Madras missionaries have followed them, who are able to speak to them in Bengali or Tamil. The Mahometans, here as elsewhere, are most bitterly opposed to the Gospel; but the Hindus, removed as they are from the restraints of caste, are much more ready converts than in their own land. The attitude of the Chinese is very promising: they are most open to Christian teaching, and most liberal in paying for the erection of schools and chapels; but of this notice has been taken in a previous paper.

This diocese has been singularly blessed in the bishop who, from the first, has directed its missions to the various heathen races, and has also built up the Church among the colonists. If it were lawful to extol the labours of one who occupies a position so high in the Church of Christ, it would be no difficult matter to do so; but it would be unbecoming. This much, however, must be recorded, that, after a residence of some forty years in a notoriously trying climate, the effects of which have compelled his family to live in England, and have made his home a solitary one, Bishop Austin has shown no sign of withdrawing from the duties of his office; but even when advancing years would justify him in giving the reins into younger hands, he continues with unabated zeal and vigour the work to which his life has been devoted, and sets before his people a living example of a devoted Christian bishop and a high-minded English gentleman.

XXV.

For some obscure reason, connected probably either with the rhythm of their names or the remoteness of their situations, Patagonia and Timbuctoo have long done the duty of contributing the jocular element to the witticisms of persons who think missions a fitting subject for ridicule and contempt. With the glib repetition of these long words the "*reductio ad absurdum*" seems perfect to the hasty generalisers, whose conclusions keep pace with their prejudices. In spite of its outlandish name and position, Timbuctoo is not likely long to continue the property of the anti-missionary wit, as it is in a fair way of being reached from the missions on the West Coast of Africa, and in Patagonia missionaries have lived and died, and their successors are now labouring, not without visible results. The forerunner of the little band, who have selected these utmost parts of the earth as the scene of their labours, was Allen Gardiner, whom we have already mentioned in connection with Natal. Of his zeal and devotion there can be only one opinion. The same would justly be said of his judgment, his patience, and his powers of leading an expedition, were it not that admiration for the graces which he possessed may tempt us to overlook his palpable lack of those qualities. Disheartened with his failure in Zululand, he left Africa, nor would he return when the country was again settled, and the confidence which he had inspired would have gathered together once more the Kafirs whom he had known and

protected. This was a great error in judgment. His Quixotic spirit, not strong enough to withstand the sense of failure in Africa, carried him away to the Indians of South America. An attempt to establish himself in Chili utterly failed, and in making it he exposed himself to many perils. Going still southwards, he found the peaceable tribes living contentedly under the teaching of Spanish priests (who of course would not welcome him), and the warlike tribes unable to distinguish between him and his Spanish opponents. Without any plan he wandered hither and thither, ready to enter the lists with heathenism wherever he could. It was but a guerilla warfare, without science, judgment, or forethought. He had no base of operations on which to fall back, no outposts who could report on the difficulties ahead and around. What wonder that he failed? Amid all these visionary schemes, adopted and acted upon without consideration, he at this time wisely refused to sink into a distributor of tracts and Bibles among the converts of the Roman priests. This was his one instance of practical wisdom; and it would be well if in these same regions his example had been followed, but the reports of the missionaries lead us to think that a convert from Popery is now regarded as a triumph as great as one gained from heathenism.

Having failed in two continents, Captain Gardiner next tried the Malay Archipelago. He was foiled in his attempt to reach Borneo, which had not yet been visited by Mr. Brooke. In broken health he went thence to the Cape, and after a brief sojourn hastened again to South America, having heard of a tribe in the Cordilleras who seemed to be easy of access; but again he was thwarted by the jealousy of Roman priests, and he sailed for the Falkland Islands, determined thence to make an attempt on Patagonia and Terra del Fuego.

On one of these dreary islands he put up a wooden hut, which he had brought with him from the mainland, and there his long-suffering wife and children were left, while he, after several fruitless attempts to get a passage, at length sailed in a miserable ship for Fireland. His interviews with the sullen Fuegians proving a failure, he crossed the continent, where he found the Patagonians hospitable and intelligent; but their nomadic habits made it impossible to influence them. Returning to the Falklands, and failing to get a ship to carry his family to Patagonia, he sailed for England, and prayed the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyans, and the Independents, each in their turn, to take up the cause of the Patagonians; but their hands were full and their finances low. With a stock of Bibles and tracts this impulsive man made a hurried trip to Rio, intending both to checkmate his old opponents, the Spanish priests, and to reach some tribes in the interior. The only result was the promise of £100 per annum from some English colonists for Patagonia. Having made this beginning he returned to England, founded a small society, and in 1844 he was again in Patagonia, and this time with a companion, a Mr. Hunt; but they soon were again in England. In the next five years he made at least three voyages to and from South America, and in 1850 he landed at Picton Island with three Cornish fishermen, a surgeon, a carpenter, and one other. On this occasion the expedition had been fitted out with some small degree of care. Four boats were attached to it, and they carried six months' provision; but the same blundering zeal which had characterised former efforts marred this also, and caused the deaths of the whole party. It was found that their numbers were not sufficient to manage their large boats, and that the smaller boats could not live in the rough seas of those coasts. The stock of powder too, on which they were

mainly dependent for fresh meat, had been carried away on board the ship which brought them from Liverpool. The natives beset them persistently, pilfering wherever they could, and being proof against all overtures. The vessel which was to have been sent from the Falkland Islands with fresh supplies never reached Picton, and in October, 1851, some ten months after the first arrival of the mission-party at the island which was to be their grave, another vessel, sent by the governor, succeeded in making the harbour, and found the wreck of one of the boats. Further search along the coast was rewarded by the discovery of the unburied skeletons of the seven. The journal of Captain Gardiner was found, and it gave a complete record of the pathetic story, the last entry being in Gardiner's own hand on September 6th, when he had been five days without food. Exposure, scurvy, and starvation—these had swept away the whole of the expedition. It was a terrible sacrifice; but it is a sacrifice that will be made again and again, so long as men will despise the practical wisdom which counsels forethought in mundane matters, as though it were incompatible with spiritual zeal. It is hard to hit on the due proportion of things. While some men demand as a preliminary condition of their contemplating mission-work accurate and trustworthy information about the range of temperature, the degree of rainfall, and the nature of the soil of the country in which they propose to live, others seem to think that the mere fact of being engaged in a spiritual work raises them altogether to a sphere in which they are superior to material things, and in which such matters as food and clothing and shelter may be left to chance.

With the deaths of Captain Gardiner and his companions the mission was for a time suspended. In 1857 another party, of which the Rev. A. W. Gardiner was a member, landed on the coast of Patagonia. They knew of two

people resident in the country who would give them a helping hand: one was a native named Casimuro, who by some accident had long ago been conveyed to Valparaiso, where during a year's stay he had learned Spanish, and witnessed the results of European civilisation. On returning to his home he discerned, in its full proportions, the utter barbarity of his people, and he longed to make them such as he had become himself by residence in Chili. In 1853 Casimuro went on board Her Majesty's ship "Vixen," which was on a surveying expedition to Patagonia, and communicated to the captain his desire to elevate his countrymen. The captain recorded this circumstance in his log, and through the Admiralty it came to the knowledge of the missionaries. At the same time a Danish professor at a Chilian university was made by the authorities of the country their representative at Punta Arenas, a frontier town on Magellan's Straits. He was most friendly to the mission, and by his good offices a young layman, named Schmid, was commended to the natives. For a year this young missionary with infinite courage lived among the Patagonians. Their food was his; he shared their tents; where they moved he moved. Having some knowledge of the tailor's craft, he worked at it, and so won their respect that the chief offered him his daughter in marriage. All this time he was studying their guttural language, and he constructed a grammar, besides making an extensive vocabulary. He found that they possessed not the shadow of a religion, the supreme object of their reverence being the medicine-man. They lived, after patriarchal fashion, in hordes of about 200 under a chief, whose voice decided for war or peace, or for change of station. In the graves of their dead they buried his horses and dogs, his weapons and his ornaments, all, in fact, that he possessed, not with the idea that they would be of use to him in a future state, for such a

phase of existence does not enter into their minds, but simply to help them in forgetting that such a person ever existed.

Surely this was an adventurous life. To live among a race of savage nomads, sharing their coarse food, their foul tents, and their wandering life, however it may satisfy at first the longings for the romantic, must soon prove to be a terrible existence. Had Mr. Schmid been a scientific traveller, an ethnologist or a geographer, a botanist or a geologist (and he must indirectly have rendered some services to these sciences), or had he been a military explorer or a political spy, he would have been fêted and made free of numerous learned societies, and have received medals, and even still more substantial rewards. Being only a missionary, his work is unappreciated and himself unknown.

Having made this degree of progress, he felt that a permanent impression could be effected only by a protracted residence among them; but fearing for his own spiritual life, thus secluded from Christian fellowship and ministrations, he sought for a colleague. Two such persons were waiting for him in the Falklands, and, thus reinforced, the faithful man returned. Casimuro and the chief who had offered to Schmid the honour of being his son-in-law protected them: not a thing was touched, and their personal safety was secured. Thus Patagonia was to some extent opened.

Across the Straits of Magellan the Archipelago of Terra del Fuego, consisting of many islands terminating to the southward in the one which gives the name to Cape Horn, was lying untouched by missionary effort. It contained the bones of Gardiner and his comrades, and on that account was already holy ground. There are in these islands two large tribes, whose languages are wholly distinct. The people, dwarfed in stature, wearing only an apology for

clothing, picking up a precarious livelihood in the caves and on the beaches, and of necessity nomadic in their habits, may be classed among the lowest types of humanity. Their homes are mounds of shells, and round the hollow top of the mound a conical booth is set up with brushwood and birch bushes. Round a wood fire, which burns in the centre of this hollow, the naked Fuegian lies, curled up with his knees on his breast, and his head resting on his neighbour's thigh. Among these people, too, a way of access was opened. One of their number had been brought to England on board a man-of-war in 1830; and although twenty-five years had elapsed, he retained a lively remembrance of English kindness; neither had his impressions of religious truths, elementary as they were, been effaced. "Jem Button"—a name given to him by the English sailors, and which could have been hit upon only on board ship, and more convenient for our present purpose than his original name of twelve syllables—welcomed the English, and became to them interpreter, dictionary, guide, and friend. He and his family came to live at the mission-station for a time. It was intended that on their return they should act as decoys to others. The missionaries spent weeks with him in his native cove, trusting their lives, their boats, and all they had to the natives. The result of their visit was that three families returned with them to their station, which they persisted in calling by the incongruous name of Cranmer. Here the men were instructed by a catechist, the women were shown by the missionary's wife how to be useful, and the lads were taught daily by the clergy. This was the commencement of the mission—a much wiser one than that which had been attempted by Captain Gardiner. The natives soon learned to read, to write, and to work. They had no religious opinions to abandon, and they the more readily adopted those of their teachers.

The society for which Captain Gardiner sighed so long dates from 1850, when he left England for the last time, and its work, while extending to certain places in South America, has its head-quarters at the Falkland Islands. The multiplication of Church agencies for the same object is to be regretted, especially when, as in the case of the South American Missionary Society, about 28 per cent. of the sums raised in England is spent in this country. But the missionary work is now carried on in a practical manner. On one of the Falkland Islands called Keppel, recently uninhabited, there is now a mission-station, church, schools, and industrial farm. A mission schooner named after Captain Gardiner sails between Stanley, the town of the Falkland Islands, and the other stations, conveying the members of the mission to and fro, and keeping them supplied with provisions and stores. At Ushuwīa, on Terra del Fuego, in the midst of many difficulties, a station has existed since 1869. A clergyman and two catechists are resident, and are doing what they can to humanise as well as to convert the miserable natives. Already their thievish habits have been checked. Ushuwīa has more than once been necessarily left to the care of natives, and the belongings of the mission have been found intact. In Patagonia the work appears at present not to be extending; but the sufferings and death of Allen Gardiner, and the chivalrous devotion of Mr. Schmid, have not been in vain. The foundation was laid at great and needless cost, and others are building on it.

In 1870 the Rev. W. H. Stirling, who had for some years been engaged in these missions, was consecrated Bishop of the Falkland Islands, having his head-quarters at Stanley.

XXVI.

The foundations of our Australian colonies were laid in crime; the earliest settlers were convicts. It was a simple process which disposed of our home-grown crime by transferring it to the other side of the world, but the manner of carrying out the policy reflected scanty credit on our political sagacity. Little could be expected from a society which was composed of the refuse of the mother country; and so imperfectly did the statesmen of the last century understand the theory that a social system, if it is to be strong and healthy, must consist of varied elements, each dependent on the rest, and all compacted into a harmonious whole, that they were content to people a new country with one, and that the basest, element, in the expectation that, by some means or other, the natures which in England had defied laws both human and divine, would be altogether different at Botany Bay; but

"Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt."

The same year (1787) which witnessed the establishment of our first colonial bishopric also witnessed the exportation of our first batch of convicts to Australia. It was a dreary time: the "perfumed blasphemies" of Voltaire had been wafted over Europe, and were preparing the way for the shock which so soon was to flood the continent with atheism and anarchy. The religious sentiment in England must have been at its lowest point; neither in public nor in private life would Christianity seem to have had any power.

The American colonies, so recently become independent, were no longer available for the reception of convicts, and the gaols were filled until they overflowed with moral and physical contagion. The recent discovery of New Holland by Captain Cook suggested that in that distant continent our convicts might be turned adrift, to the relief and convenience of the home-country; and in May, 1787, six transports, with 800 convicts, were sent to Botany Bay, under convoy of a frigate, a store-ship, and three tenders. The voyage was then a perilous undertaking, and it lasted eight months. The Government, with paternal forethought, secured the good discipline of the convicts by sending 200 soldiers with them; but a clergyman, a schoolmaster, any one to speak to them words of hope, of encouragement, or of pardon, formed no part of the projected expedition. Just at the last moment a clergyman offered, as a labour of love, to accompany the party, and, through the influence of the Bishop of London, he was allowed to do so. This was the Rev. Robert Johnson, a name almost unknown even to Churchmen at this distance of time, but which deserves to be chronicled for the sake of a work of almost unparalleled devotion. During the voyage Mr. Johnson could only benefit the passengers on board the one ship in which he himself sailed; the other ten, therefore, were left to themselves. The whole fleet put into Rio Janeiro, and while they were in harbour, the good chaplain held services on all the ships in turn. At length the convicts were landed on the site of the present city of Sydney. Some of them received free grants of land, others were employed in laying out farms, and some were sent to Norfolk Island to report on its capabilities. The absence of all religious restraint was soon apparent: on board ship the very sternest discipline had kept up something like order; now that such discipline was impossible, it was found that the long voyage,

with its enforced idleness, had made them more depraved than before. Thefts, desertions, and murders were frequent, and punishments of the most barbarous kind were the only repressive means which suggested themselves. Famine added to their difficulties; the ships which had been despatched from England with stores never reached Australia; but in 1790 a thousand more convicts were landed, thus making the prospect of starvation more imminent. By the following year there were 3,500 convicts in the colony. It was among such a degraded population as this that the worthy Mr. Johnson laboured without hope of earthly reward; he received no support from the officials. Those were the days when the spiritual life of Englishmen at home was as cold as it could be, and when it was a frequent boast among residents in the East that the mere profession of religion was left when they rounded the Cape of Good Hope. The convicts were ordered to attend church, and were fined for their absence to the amount of 2 lbs. of flour from their weekly rations; but their church-going was only a roll-call; they were drawn up in the open-air, the soldiers with loaded fire-arms keeping guard, and the officers and the governor of the colony never thinking of attending in person. For six years there was neither a church nor the probability of one being built by the Government, and therefore, at a cost of £40, Mr. Johnson built one himself. It was soon burned down by the convicts; and then the governor ordered stone churches to be built, more as a punishment to the prisoners, who had thought thus to escape the infliction of church-going, than for any spiritual good to be gained by them. For seven years Mr. Johnson laboured alone in this most unpromising field; but in 1794 the Rev. S. Marsden joined him, having been sent out by the Government, and they worked together among the increasing convict population until 1800, when Mr. Johnson

returned to England, after a dozen years of service as noble and as unselfish as ever was rendered. For seven years after this Mr. Marsden was the solitary chaplain. It is unnecessary to trace at length the troubles which beset him in the performance of his duties: it would seem that the whole population, the civil and military authorities as well as the convicts, made no profession of religion, and never dreamed of voluntarily attending his ministrations. The congregations dwindled down to mere handfuls, and in 1825 the chaplain informed a new governor that only five or six persons were in the habit of coming to church. That governor, Sir Thomas Darling, then announced his intention of coming himself, and "expected that his example would be followed by the people."

From the first there had been among the convicts a number of Romanists, for whom, as well as for the rest, no provision had been made; neither for them had any Mr. Johnson been found to volunteer his ministrations, so that they had been utterly cut off from all religious exercises. There was among them in 1803 a priest, James Dixon, who had been sentenced to transportation: this circumstance did not, of course, interfere with the validity of his orders, and by an official notice he was set free "to enable him to exercise his clerical functions." He ministered at the three largest settlements in turn, and the convicts who belonged to his communion were marched to church on the occasion of his visits. What became of him is not known, but after he left, "the only religious consolation which the Roman Catholic prisoners enjoyed for more than two years was a consecrated wafer, left in the house of one of them by Mr. Dixon, around which these men of sorrow, as many as could, were wont to assemble and offer up their prayers, no voice but the silent one of faith, not a priest of their religion within 10,000 miles."

Year after year more prisoners were sent to Australia, until, in 1817, of 17,000 souls, which formed the whole population, 7,000 were convicts. On the first establishment of the settlement at Sydney, a party had been sent to explore and report on Norfolk Island, and 200 convicts, with two companies of soldiers, were stationed there: the devoted Mr. Johnson visited them after they had been there two years. In 1826 this island, which has since been made sacred to us by its connection with our martyred Bishop Patteson, was made a penal settlement; it became a pandemonium: the wretched criminals were chained together day and night, and not the slightest attempt was made to raise them spiritually. Once a-week they were marched to a parade-ground, still chained, and a young officer would come to the front and read some prayers; other religious observance there was none. What wonder that both in Norfolk Island and in Australia crimes of the most horrible atrocity were daily occurrences? Punishments were powerless; there were instances in which men on being sentenced to death thanked God that their miseries would soon be at end. In 1834 a truly Christian judge, Sir W. Burton, grieved at having daily to try his wretched countrymen for capital offences, uttered a manly protest against the whole system: from his seat on the bench, as well as by representations to the home Government, he proclaimed the fact that the utter absence of all religious observances had produced the inevitable results which he had witnessed and had deplored. At the same time the Archdeacon of Australia (for this vast continent had been added to the Diocese of Calcutta) came to England, and brought the condition of those distant settlements before the eyes of the authorities. His appeal was not in vain; some attempts were immediately made to remedy the crying evils which he had exposed, and in 1836 he returned to Australia as its first bishop.

This paper is intended to serve as an introduction to the following paper on New Zealand; but it was necessary first to deal with the original settlement of Australia, because from that continent the earliest attempt was made to evangelise New Zealand. With the establishment of the Australian episcopate, and the introduction of a Christian element into the penal system of the country, the early history of the Australian Church and colony closes: the subsequent extensions of both will be treated of in another paper.

XXVII.

ALTHOUGH New Zealand was discovered by a Dutchman, Abel Janssen Tasman, in 1642, it was reserved for the famous Cook, some 125 years later, to prove by sailing round the islands, and by passing through the straits which separate the northern from the southern island, that it was not, as had been supposed, a continent. Cook was probably the first European who effected a landing. He found the people a set of brave and intelligent savages, living in perpetual warfare, and cannibalism one of their institutions. He established friendly relations among them, and gave them some pigs, fowls, and potatoes. From this time whale ships would put in for water, and open communication with the people. It seems strange at this period to observe how our early intercourse with the New Zealanders was the counterpart of our more recent dealings with the Melanesians; in each there was the natural distrust of a savage and cannibal people, followed by friendly barter and good feeling; in each this condition of things was frequently interrupted by deeds of rapacity and cruelty on the part of the white man, for which the savages, with undiscriminating justice, wreaked their vengeance on the next white man who came in their way. These tragic events gave them a bad name. There was not the same rapidity of communication in those days, and the islands were practically more remote than are the Pacific groups now, and consequently the facilities for deciding on which side the blame chiefly rested were not so

great as now; the burden, therefore, was cast entirely on the savages. But Captain Cook had observed that, spite of their being always engaged in tribal wars, they were affectionate and kind to each other; there were some streaks of gold amid the clay, but there was still abundant cause for their evil reputation. In 1772 twenty-eight men had been cut off from a French ship; in the following year ten men were killed and eaten in triumph, and in the year 1809 the whole crew of H.M.S. "Boyd" were massacred. To visit such a savage people in their own land appeared to be like courting death. But a way was opened: their innate energy and love of adventure often led them to Australia, and there they became objects of great interest to Dr. Marsden, the Government chaplain mentioned in the last paper. Among the many cares which devolved upon him as chaplain to the neglected convicts,—cares infinitely increased and aggravated by the hostility shown to him by the civil authorities,—he yet found time to think of the conversion of the strange islands, with their utterly barbarous peoples, a thousand miles across the sea. Whenever the Maories, therefore, came to Port Jackson, they found a friend in the chaplain, and a welcome at his parsonage. At one time he had thirty of these strange guests under his roof, who were hardly restrained from the practice of the most objectionable of their customs even when inmates of a clergyman's house, and receiving his hospitality. Among these visitors in the year 1809, immediately after the massacre of the "Boyd's" crew, was a chief named Tippahee. From him Mr. Marsden learned very much about the country and people, and the result of a voyage which he made to England was that the Church Missionary Society sent out a schoolmaster, a carpenter, and a shoemaker, who should, under Marsden's guidance, try to civilise as well as convert the Maories. They arrived safely in Australia, but a recent massacre of an English crew on the coast of the

northern island had inspired such terror that for more than two years they could find no ship willing to take them. At length, on December 20th, 1814, the little party, headed by Marsden, and accompanied by a Maori, Duaterra, the nephew and successor of Tippahee, who had sailed with them from England, landed on the northern island. The place on which they first set foot was the scene of the recent massacre; a clearly providential care had secured for them a friend and interpreter in Duaterra, and that very night Mr. Marsden slept safely on the soil of New Zealand, the warriors lying around with their spears' heads buried in the ground, as a token of peace and amity.

The Maoris are the purest branch of that Polynesian race, the cradle of which is supposed to have been the Hawaiian Islands, and their superstitions represent accurately the state of religious feeling which has long obtained through the great mass of the islands of the Pacific Ocean. With all their cannibalism and savagery they have united a large measure of spiritual susceptibility; their Pantheon far exceeds in the number of its divinities those of Greece or of India; everything is invested with a supernatural power, every circumstance of their lives is supposed to be directed by an ever-active, ever-present Divine agency. These convictions made it a difficult matter for them to receive the idea of our Creator. There were gods of the day and gods of the night; innate powers in earth and in heaven which separated the firmament from the land. Everything that was seen was supposed to be the work of some special deity; and these gods possessed the passions of men, were cannibals, and had to be feared and appeased. Every tribe, moreover, worshipped some one or more of its departed ancestors, whom it consulted as an oracle in matters of grave importance, and the "atua" (divinity) replied in a mysterious sound, "half whisper, half whistle." When the first mis-

sionaries preached the Gospel in New Zealand, the Maoris consulted their "atua" whether the white men's teaching was true, and it is a remarkable fact that the answers invariably declared Jesus Christ to be the true God: to these answers the rapid growth of Christianity in New Zealand is to be in part attributed. Long before they had any intercourse with Europeans, the Maoris practised a rite which outwardly resembles Christian baptism, although a further examination will show that it had nothing in common with it. After the birth of a child it was carried to a priest, who, using some preliminary forms, recited a long list of the names of its ancestors, from which at last he selected one. As he pronounced this name, he sprinkled the child solemnly with a small branch of a native shrub. In some parts of the island the ceremony was performed in a running stream, in which the child was immersed at the time of the name being given. So much for the outward resemblance: in intention and meaning the difference was as wide as possible. From the moment of its birth a Maori child was regarded as holy, and to be handled only by the initiated; the neophyte was dedicated to the God of War, and the best thing asked for him was that he might "flame with anger and be strong to wield a weapon." It is not necessary to point out the contrast between these and the conditions of the Christian sacrament.* Of the religious usage known as the "Tapu," common to all Maori and Polynesian tribes from New Zealand to the Sandwich Islands, something will be said when we notice the work in Honolulu.

It was, then, among a people thus sunk in superstition that Marsden landed with impunity in December, 1814, and on Christmas Eve of the same year preached to them on the significant text, "Behold, I bring you glad tidings," Duaterra acting as interpreter. Their conversion was not so rapid as

* See *Christ and other Masters: Religions of Oceanica*, vol. ii.

is generally supposed; their savage natures were hard to subdue, and many were the outbursts of passion and vengeance, which might well have damped the ardour of a man less resolute than Marsden. The presence of a white man was valued as he contributed to the comforts of the Maori, but his religion did not attract. At length a chief named Honghi, who, without abandoning cannibalism or polygamy, had befriended the missionaries, was sent to England at his own request. Here he had an interview with George IV., who gave him, as the most appropriate present from a Christian sovereign, a supply of fire-arms. Impressed with the beauty of the monarchy as seen in England, he determined not only that New Zealand should have the benefit of that institution, but that he would himself be the monarch. On his return he challenged a neighbouring chief, and with the muskets which the English king had given him managed to gain a victory. He drank the blood of the chief whom he had killed, and devoured his eye; his followers cooked and ate as many of their enemies as they wished, and kept the rest as slaves. This, it must be borne in mind, was six years after Marsden's first landing, and was the conduct of one who had befriended the mission and himself. Neither was this a solitary case: rather it was a specimen of what frequently happened. In 1822 Marsden returned with the Rev. H. Williams, afterwards Archdeacon Williams, but nine years of labour made no sensible impression. In 1825 the Rev. W. Williams, now the Bishop of Waiapu, joined the mission staff. The natives insisted on being paid in powder for any services which they rendered to the missionaries, and were angry when refused. Meanwhile the English colonists were settling in increased numbers in the island, and their constant affrays with the Maoris rapidly reduced the native population. Marsden from time to time visited New Zealand, making his seventh and last voyage in 1837.

As early as 1833 the whole of the New Testament and the Prayer-book had been translated and printed. In 1836 the Bishopric of Australia was founded, and New Zealand formed a part of that see. In 1838 Bishop Broughton visited the islands and inspected the various missions, which had been entirely supported by the Church Missionary Society, and admitted to the priesthood the Rev. O. Hadfield, the present Bishop of Wellington. The distance of New Zealand from Australia is more than 1,000 miles; the increasing duties of the bishop on the continent made it impossible for him to give to the island church the care which it demanded, and Bishop Broughton therefore recommended the establishment of a bishopric for New Zealand. Two years later, by the wish of the Maoris themselves, those islands were added to the British dominions. An English company had already bought large tracts of land from the natives, and had founded the town of Wellington on the southern shore of the northern island; this was soon followed by New Plymouth on the western coast, and by Nelson on the northern shore of the middle island, opposite to Wellington. With the establishment of New Zealand as an independent colony, the Bishop of Australia lost his legal jurisdiction over the Church in the islands; the urgency of the case was a stimulant to the zeal of Churchmen, and it was determined that the first result of the newly-founded Colonial Bishoprics Council should be the establishment of a New Zealand see.

On October 17, 1841, Bishop Selwyn was consecrated first Bishop of New Zealand and of the isles adjoining.

XXVIII.

WITHIN two months of his consecration Bishop Selwyn sailed from Plymouth for his distant diocese: his last Sunday in England was spent in Exeter, and not a few people still remember vividly the effect of his sermon in the cathedral of that city, the text being, "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" Strange, indeed, was New Zealand to the minds of English people thirty years ago; there had been no so chivalrous a venture hitherto made by the Church of England, and many hearts were strangely moved by the sight of the youthful bishop, turning his back on bright prospects in his native land, and going (to use his own words) "far hence to seek for a place for the temple of the Lord, an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob; in the hope, like David, of finding it 'in the wood.'" Neither could any country now be selected for missionary work, of which we should know so little, and yet so much that was terrible, as was then known of New Zealand. Marsden, the brothers Williams, and other faithful men had been sent out by the Church Missionary Society, and had worked hard and gathered together congregations; but, as is always the case, the labours of such men were not generally known, and the horrible records of cannibal outrages had found a much wider circulation, and made a more lasting impression. Moreover, the establishment of a colonial see was a greater novelty in 1841 than it is now. The present century had witnessed the erection of the three Indian bishoprics, and

two also in the West Indies; but although these had long been desiderated, their establishment was a concession wrung from the government which provided their incomes rather than the result of personal self-denial. The sees of Australia and Newfoundland had introduced a new and better order of things in 1836 and 1839, respectively. The diocese of New Zealand was another hopeful fact: it dated almost from the foundation of the colony itself, and it promised to be the forerunner of that wide extension of the colonial episcopate which is by far the happiest and most important event in the post-Reformation history of the Anglican Church.

During the long voyage the bishop acquired such a knowledge of the native language as enabled him to speak readily to the Maoris when he landed in May, 1842. Having immediately formed plans for the ecclesiastical divisions of the islands, for the education of the natives, and for the gradual endowment of the Church, he made his first visitation of the northern island and part of the middle island; this occupied five months, and the journeys were made principally on foot. The bishop's shelter was a tent, which also served the purpose of a church; this, which was the gift of a pious layman, William Cotton, was carried by some of his Maori companions. In 1844 the southern island was visited, and here it was that the bishop was met by Wesleyan converts, who had been carefully trained to distinguish between the Church and that sect, and to prefer the latter. Meanwhile difficulties were springing up, which have appeared again and again, which much interfered with the work of the clergy. English towns were formed amid the wastes far away from the villages of the natives, but curiosity, and afterwards profit, attracted the Maoris to the spot. It was found that the English had many wants which the natives could supply. Pork, fish, grass, wood, even manual labour

were in demand, and met with adequate recompense. The natives, therefore, settled in the neighbourhood of the white men: they derived many advantages, but not a few evils. Their religious teaching had been rudimentary, and the impression made had been imperfect: they admired the Englishman's skill, and, with the imitative instincts of the savage, tried to be as he was. They observed, among other things, that the Englishman did not always go to church, and never attended the school, why therefore should they? An uneasy feeling also began to appear among the natives when they witnessed the increasing numbers of the English; they foresaw that they would be themselves outnumbered in a few years. Foreign influences were at work to persuade them that they were the slaves of the English, and that the Royal standard, which was flying on the top of the hill, was the emblem of their slavery. John Heke, a native, who had been distinguished in earlier wars, but had recently been living peaceably at a mission station, was the ringleader in this insurrection: he gave notice of his intention, and two days afterwards he fulfilled it by cutting down the offending flag-staff, and then he disappeared. It was essentially a war against the emblem of their subjection, and against the soldiers who defended the flag. Heke and his followers did no harm to the civilians, but even warned them away, and helped them to move their belongings; this, therefore, was a remarkable contrast to their deeds of twenty years before, and for this merciful policy all the credit must be ascribed to the missionaries. The war ceased, but not its evil results. Such wars have frequently occurred since, and those who ridicule missions have declared that the whole body of Maori converts were deceivers and hypocrites; that their Christianity was only a thin lacquer of religious phraseology, and that they easily relapsed into barbarism. Is this taunt justified by fact? They engaged in war, it is true; they

smote their enemies hip and thigh. Are these actions limited to New Zealanders; and, if not, are they limited always to barbarians, or semi-Christians? Within the last ten years we have seen the most civilised and polished nations, in either hemisphere, shedding each other's blood like water, and exercising all their skill in the endeavour to find weapons which will make war more terrible and carnage more extensive. Let it be remembered that the Maoris have, whether deluded or not, been fighting, as they supposed, for their fatherland, which had been wrested from them—a sentiment which in Europe passes for patriotism. In our own days we have seen a Christian nation going to war, not in defence of its own soil, but "for the sake of a geographical idea," and no one has ventured to assert that Napoleon III. and the accomplished French people were truculent savages. In the midst of all these troubles Bishop Selwyn continued to visit his diocese, and to provide for its efficient administration. The school at Waimate was transferred to St. John's College at Auckland. Already the bishop had marked in more than one of his converts qualities and graces which gave him hopes of a native clergy at no distant period; already, too, he found that the "edifying" of the New Zealand Church required the subdivision of the diocese. Pending this consummation, now so happily accomplished, he appointed the Rev. W. Williams Archdeacon of Waiapu (of which he is now bishop), and subsequently he constituted four other archdeaconries. The duties of an archdeacon have been found by some persons hard to define, and small witticisms have been exercised at the expense of those officers: it may be well to give the following extract from the bishop's Charge of 1847, which gives some idea of archidiaconal functions at the Antipodes:—

"It is to be hoped that the title of a 'Dignitary' of the Church will never be heard in New Zealand. It is well

said by the venerable Bede, 'that the title of Bishop is a name, not of honour, but of work;' and I appeal to one of my archdeacons whether I did not tell him, when he was following me on foot along the narrow track of a native path on the side of a wild hill, with a few faithful natives for our only retinue, that if I designed the office of archdeacon to be a mere peacock's feather, to distinguish one clergyman above his brethren, I would not offer it to the acceptance of any one who had borne his Master's cross, in retirement and self-denial, in the mission-field. The course of life to which I invited the archdeacons was to unite with me in a combined system of helpfulness and work."

The system of evangelisation tours made by native converts among their heathen brethren was adopted at an early stage of the mission: indeed, from the first Bishop Selwyn in full faith utilised the native Christians as missionaries. In 1846 a congregation of 2,000 met at Whanganui, and 382 communicated: it was then determined that two converts, named Manihera and Kereopa, should go and preach to a tribe with whom their own tribe had been at war. On their way they were warned that they were running into certain peril, but this did not deter them. Ten natives accompanied them; a body of their enemies secreted themselves in the bushes, and when the Christians approached, fired on them. The two teachers were killed, Kereopa on the spot, but Manihera lived long enough to bind up his wounds, and to give to the only one of his ten companions who had been injured his Testament and some papers that he had with him, telling him that that was indeed great riches: having thus bequeathed what most he valued, he leaned his head against a tree and died. Thus the native Church of New Zealand had soon its martyrs, who died in the midst of their work. In 1853 the first native deacon was ordained, the Rev. Rota Waitoa (the first name being

equivalent to Lot, as Maoris cannot pronounce "l.") He was only the forerunner of seventeen others; and amid all the lights and shadows, the successes and the disasters of the New Zealand Church, there stands forth this comforting fact, that the native clergy have without exception proved faithful and staunch.

In 1862 a serious insurrection took place in the northern island under a native, William Tamihana, the king-maker. The bishop attended a large gathering of the natives at the chief's house, and offered to act as mediator, stating very clearly his opinion that the fault was not wholly on the side of the natives. It was the old dispute about land, and the interpretation of a treaty for the purchase of land. Battles were fought, and all the worst passions of the natives, that had so long been put to sleep, were aroused; everywhere it was declared that victory had been with the insurgents; the hope of plunder was excited, and those who had no desire originally to take up arms, were now told that, unless they did so, they would have no share in the booty. When the spirit of lying got possession of them, there was not lacking a still further delusion. A chief had shown such symptoms of insanity that his people had bound him, first with cords and afterwards with chain and padlock; from both of these he escaped, and declared that the angel Gabriel had released him. From a lunatic he came to be esteemed a prophet: he foretold a great victory, which was supposed to have been realised when a small reconnoitring party of soldiers were cut off. From a prophet he was declared to be the angel Gabriel himself. A worship was compiled for his followers, which was a mixture of Romanism, Wesleyanism, and Church doctrines, associated with the fanaticism and license of Mahometanism. To propagate this creed by the sword became a virtue, and no restraints were put on the worst passions of our nature. Under the influence of visions they

reverted to cannibalism, and called their priests and leaders "Incas," after Peruvian custom. Something of every creed they adopted: they affected the name of "Universal," called their doctrine "Pai Marire" (all-holy), and themselves "Hau-haus" (or barkers) from their habit of going about barking like dogs. In their worship at Poverty Bay they practised a bitter lamentation, unlike anything witnessed before: it was a mourning for their lands which they had lost; it had an overpowering effect on the bystanders; it touched their *amor patriæ*, and those who were before unaffected joined in the fanatical movement. The delusion was nothing short of violent mania. At this moment two clergymen landed from a small schooner in the midst of the infuriated crowd: one of them, Mr. Volkner, had lived among them for years, and felt confident that his influence among them was undiminished; but he knew not the devilish spirit that was among them. In a moment he was seized, and savagely murdered: with St. Stephen's prayer on his lips he joined the multitude of those who "came out of great tribulation."

There were others besides the natives whose faith was sorely tried at this time. It must have been a bitter grief to the bishops and other missionaries, who had toiled so long, to see the spark, which had been kindled by the arbitrary and encroaching policy of our colonists, fanned by the bungling of magistrates, the jealousy of the natives, and the misrepresentations of enemies into a flame, which destroyed the greater part of their painful labours. Of their converts, many could not stand the sifting to which they were exposed: it was a palpable assault of the evil one, before which they fell. Very pathetic were the words which the bishop wrote in 1863:—"I have now one simple missionary idea before me,—of watching over 'the remnant that is left.' Our native work is a remnant in two senses; a remnant of a

decaying people and a remnant of a decaying faith. The works of which you hear are not the works of heathens; they are the works of baptized men, whose love has grown cold from causes common to all churches of neophytes from Laodicea downwards."

Of the development of the Church in New Zealand little need be said, as it is an oft-told story. The episcopal chair set up in 1841 has now grown into seven dioceses, each with their own organisation and representative synods, and together constituting the provincial synod of New Zealand: the senior bishop is the metropolitan. In 1851 an attempt was made to found in the middle island a distinctively Church colony, in which the support of the clergy, the erection of churches, and the education of the young should be provided for in proportion to the increase of population by grants of land for perpetual endowment. The idea, however pious, was Quixotic; it failed to some extent, and rightly. Great as is the evil of religious division, uniformity is not to be attained by secluding a small community within a supposed happy valley, from which the ordinary snares of humanity are shut out; the very attempt will produce either hypocrisy or rebellion against the restraint. With this as with other temptations the true policy, by which a manly Christian character is formed and strengthened, is to pray not to be taken out of the world, but to be kept from the evil thing. The colony of Canterbury, however, possesses a population of a higher character, and belonging more exclusively to the educated classes than probably any other of the British dependencies. It became a bishopric in 1856, and under the rule of Bishop Harper the Church has been wisely extended and consolidated. The discovery of gold on the western coast has attracted a heterogeneous population, for whom spiritual provision has been promptly made. In 1858 the dioceses of Nelson, Wellington, and Waiapu,

were constituted and in 1866 that of Dunedin. The Maoris have never recovered the convulsions in which their faith was shipwrecked: those who did not apostatise continue to live on the lands reserved for them, and are ministered to by their own clergy. In the dioceses of Waiapu and Christ Church they have shown great zeal in building a church for their own use: at the very time when the English were making war upon them, the Maoris in the former diocese collected £546 for the endowment of that bishopric, besides having raised an Endowment Fund of £500 for the native pastorate. None of the English settlements have done so much; in none of the provinces of the northern island have the English made a competent provision for supplying themselves with the means of grace, still less have they attempted to provide clergy and schools for the Maoris. The very diocese which Bishop Selwyn vacated by his translation was wholly unendowed; a permanent income has since been secured for the see by the energy of its first incumbent. Meanwhile the Maoris are, as a people, declining in numbers: if it be the will of God that they shall be removed, it is still the office of the Church to tend and feed these feeble representatives of a once manly race, while yet their day lasts.

XXIX.

When the letters-patent constituting the Diocese of New Zealand were issued in 1841, the limits of the see were declared to be "New Zealand and all the islands adjacent thereto, and lying between 34° 30′ north, and 47° 10 south latitude, and between 166° 5′ west, and 179° east longitude." A glance at the map will show that such a diocese was, for practical purposes, boundless. Bishop Selwyn's duties would have called him across the whole breadth of the tropical zone, and some 12 degrees north of the tropic of Cancer. Much more to the purpose was the charge laid on him by the Venerable Primate (Archbishop Howley) not to confine his efforts to New Zealand, but to watch over the progress of the Gospel throughout the coasts and islands of the Pacific. This was the origin of the Melanesian Mission. In 1847, when Bishop Selwyn had, after five years' work, brought the diocese into a condition of order and system, he applied himself to the task of carrying the Gospel to some of these islands. There is no part of the world which could present so many difficulties: it is recorded of John Wesley that, when surveying the whole of the heathen world, he declared that its evangelisation was not only possible but probable, except in the case of these islands. Each had its own language or languages; indeed, it has been found that on a small island there have been two or three distinct tongues and tribes of people, who never met without bloodshed: add to this that the climate,

specially of the more Equatorial groups, is ill-suited, if not fatal, to an European after a continuous residence; that the people were without exception barbarous and cruel as the Maoris had been forty years before; that there was not, as there had been in Marsden's case, any emigration from among them which enabled that missionary to understand something of their language and their dispositions beforehand; and the problem, of which Bishop Selwyn attempted the solution, was indeed a difficult one. In the Polynesian groups,—for the Fiji Islands, whose people are themselves the "transition-link between the black and copper-coloured races," divide Polynesia from Melanesia,—the work can be carried on without the perpetual drawback of ill-health. In Melanesia, however, both jungle fever and low fever, ague and kindred disorders, render a prolonged residence on any one island a reckless squandering of human strength and life. In some of the Loyalty Islands, which are simply coral reefs upheaved from the ocean, there is an absence of all dense vegetation, and on these the London Missionary Society has laboured for many years, and found them the sanatoria of the Pacific. The same may be said of Erromango, one of the New Hebrides to the north of the Loyalty group, where the Nonconformist missionary John Williams, after many years of admirable work in Tahiti, was martyred. The character of the islanders, when the missionaries first approached them, was of the most impracticable kind; they were without a semblance of self-restraint, of filial affection, almost of natural feelings. Infanticide, suicide, cannibalism, and burying alive were established customs; girls jumped from the cliffs with their children, young men hanged themselves, women would swim out to sea to be devoured by sharks, simply to escape a few minute's anxiety, pain, or grief; wars were perpetual and feuds hereditary. It was among such a people as this that

in 1847-8 Bishop Selwyn commenced that work which has since enlisted so much chivalrous devotion, by which the Cross has won many triumphs, and whose disasters have been caused not by the heathen, but by our own countrymen. In his first cruise he visited the islands of the Friendly and Navigator groups, which were in the hands of Wesleyan and Presbyterian missionaries: the native teachers from the latter mission had penetrated to places far removed from their own homes, and in many instances their lives had been sacrificed to their zeal. On the southern islands of the New Hebrides (the most northern point in this visitation) trading establishments of a primitive kind were found, and the Roman Catholic missionaries were working their way towards the Equator with much courage; but one French bishop had retired from New Caledonia, another had been martyred in Ysabel, and of the native teachers who had come from the healthier East, not a few had succumbed to climate. The bishop's method was a bold and simple one: he would approach an island in the ship's boat, wade or swim ashore, leaving the boat as a means of escape, if necessary, and on the coral beach would meet the armed natives. No women would appear, as they are always removed when war is probable: a few fish-hooks would be given away, or other trifling presents made; a few names would be learned and written down, and the visit would end. No litanies were sung, no banners were carried aloft, still less was there a Christian Queen Bertha on shore to prepare the way for the bishop. It was essentially a work of faith and of patience: to have endeavoured to move more rapidly would have ensured immediate and permanent failure. This visit was the first of a series. Returning in a few months' time the bishop would find himself no longer a stranger; he would now be received with confidence; the women and children would come down to the beach, and

perhaps one or two boys would be allowed to return with him to the college at Auckland for the summer months, the bishop bringing them back to their warmer islands for the winter.

In 1850 the Australasian Board of Missions was formed after conference of the Bishops of Australia and New Zealand, and the Melanesian Mission was solemnly adopted by those young churches, the oldest of which had not existed for a generation, as their proper work. In pecuniary matters the Australian churches have continued to help this mission, but only on one occasion has an Australian bishop personally shared in the work; indeed, it has been impossible for those prelates, with their large sees and growing populations, to do so. In 1852 the Bishop of Newcastle accompanied the Bishop of New Zealand in his yacht, the "Border Maid." Visiting or sighting fifty-three islands, he was able to hold intercourse with the people of twenty-six, and from eleven of them he was allowed to take away scholars. This work was attended with many dangers. At Fate, one of the New Hebrides group, a plot was formed to cut him off and to seize his schooner, but adverse winds prevented him approaching the island, and thus providentially his life was spared. At Malicolo, in the same group, the bishop had gone ashore with the boats to procure water, leaving on board the Bishop of Newcastle, the mate, and two or three sailors. Many canoes surrounded the ship, and the natives, who were very savage in their bearing, endeavoured to board, but were overawed. At last they consulted together and made for the shore—the boats were lying near the beach, one man being left in each, while the bishop and his party had gone inland: on the beach were about a hundred men fully armed; it was evidently intended as soon as the canoes reached land to seize the boats and prevent the bishop's escape. It was an anxious moment;

the Bishop of Newcastle consulted with the mate, and found that, as far as material weapons went, they were powerless; the little company on board joined fervently in prayer for the deliverance of their friends, and on the island Bishop Selwyn had detected the evil looks of the people and retreated, getting into the boats amid a shower of arrows, which providentially did no harm.

In 1854 Bishop Selwyn visited England: the time had come when his diocese must be divided, and there were many arrangements to be completed, which could not be effected without his personal conference with the heads of the Church at home. During his stay he told the story of his twelve years' labour in all parts of the country, but especially he preached four sermons on the Sundays in Advent before the University of Cambridge, which have had results more visible, although perhaps not more widely-spread, than had the Bampton Lectures of Archdeacon Grant, which some years before were delivered at Oxford. One of the immediate results of these sermons was the offering himself for missionary work of the future martyr of Central Africa. It has already been stated that Mackenzie was willing himself to go to the newly-formed mission at Delhi, and that he only yielded to what he was assured was his duty when he consented to remain at Cambridge for a time; it was but for a brief space, for, as has been mentioned, he soon afterwards went to Africa, to which land the remnant of his life's labours was given. It was during this sojourn in England that the story of the work in Melanesia attracted John Coleridge Patteson. A Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, the centre of a wide circle of friends, ministering in a rural parish in one of the fairest scenes of England's most beautiful county, this young clergyman's lot was happily placed: neither could the most sensitive conscience have questioned whether he was rightly placed; for in addition to his pastoral

duties among his parishioners he was able to lighten and minister to the growing infirmities of a well-loved father. It was not youthful enthusiasm nor romantic ardour that thus attracted him from a sphere of manifest usefulness, but a feeling of self-sacrifice. An offer of service made on any less worthy grounds would in time have become evident in relaxed zeal, in abated labours, in murmurs at insufficient success, perhaps in a return to England. There was nothing of this in Bishop Patteson; his character deepened with experience; he became year by year more engrossed in his work; the dangers which beset him he never mentioned, and against the atrocities of white men, supposed to be civilised and Christian, which with sadly prophetic foresight he mentioned as not unlikely to cause the death of himself and his friends, he protested, not in the tone of one personally injured, but only with the righteous indignation which such deeds excite in all honest hearts as hindrances of the Gospel and of civilisation. We know now where he had learned the rudiments of that modest but brave faith, which has since borne fruit, so glorious yet so sad, on the shores of Nukapu. He had been imbued from childhood, in a thoroughly Christian home and in England's greatest school, with lessons of manliness and gentleness, of self-denial, of postponement of inclination to duty, and of consideration to others. What manner of man his father, Sir John Patteson, was, may be gathered from the following letter which was printed in the *New Zealand Church News* for December, 1871:—

"Feniton Court, March 25, 1855.

"My dear Bishop,—Your blessing is, indeed, valuable to me, and I accept it with many thankful feelings, unworthy of it as I know myself to be.

"I firmly believe that my dear boy is going to New

Zealand from the purest and holiest motives, and have no doubt that it will please God to protect you and him, as He has hitherto vouchsafed to protect you in your holy labours. I do in no respect repent having given my consent to his going, and shall part with him to-morrow, not without some grief, but with joy that God has been pleased to give me such a son, and with perfect submission to His will, as to our ever seeing him again in this world. He has, during the short time he has been at Alfington, been enabled to do a world of good,—that is, has been the favoured instrument of doing it,—and I think him adapted to the work which he has undertaken. If it should turn out otherwise, either from health or any other cause, I feel quite sure that you will discover it and send him home. But if he prove an effectual instrument in New Zealand, as I heartily pray Him he may be found, I shall feel that I have in some sort made a present of him to the work of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that it is a blessed thing to have so done. My age of sixty-six years is such that I cannot wish to be continued here for ten years, unless there be any work for me to do in which I may serve God. May His gracious hand and favour be upon you both, night and day, and may I be able to lay hold on the righteousness that is in Christ Jesus, and through His merits be allowed to meet you both again in a better world.

"Yours affectionately,

"J. PATTESON.

"To Right Rev. the Bishop of New Zealand."

Here, indeed, was a type of an English layman. A man of acutest intellect, who had worn the ermine of the judicial bench with infinite honour to himself, accepts with feelings of unaffected humility the blessing of a bishop, and on

parting with his well-loved son for ever feels that he has "in some sort made a present of him to the work of our Lord Jesus Christ." Simplest faith joined with devotion the most profound! If the Church had more of such sons as was this distinguished judge, we need not sigh for the return of a mythical age when England was called the "Land of Saints."

Bishop Selwyn sailed three days after Judge Patteson's letter was written, accompanied by the future Bishop of Melanesia. His brief sojourn in England had been the means of raising up for our Church the two bishops who, in our generation, have conferred on the episcopate the glory of the martyr crown. Humanly speaking they were the spiritual sons of the first Bishop of New Zealand, whose whole career has been one of undeviating obedience and self-denial; they were worthy of their spiritual father, and their devotion is sufficient to sweeten the sordidness of any age.

XXX.

On the return of Bishop Selwyn to New Zealand in 1855, the prospects of the Melanesian Mission were full of encouragement. A suitable Church-ship, the "Southern Cross," which personal friends had provided, followed him from England; and in this yacht, far more commodious than the little "Border Maid" and other vessels that had been chartered for the earlier voyages, a more complete and extended visitation of the islands was made than had hitherto been possible. Just at this time the French took possession of New Caledonia and the Loyalty group, and pushed their own missions. In that same group the London Missionary Society had long had representatives. In the southern New Hebrides, to the north of the Loyalty Islands, the Presbyterians from Nova Scotia had long been at work, and some of their missionaries had lost their lives; thus the whole of the southern portion of Melanesia, where the climate is healthy and residence both feasible and pleasant, appeared to be occupied by European missionaries, although not of our communion. With a chivalrous self-devotion, Bishop Selwyn chose to address himself to the conversion of the northern islands, which had not yet been touched, and where the climate was, so far as it was known, extremely unhealthy. In the previous year the descendants of the mutineers of the "Bounty" had been moved from Pitcairn to Norfolk Island. Thus, in the middle of the Pacific there was a little English colony, which claimed the

bishop's care, and who, in their turn, might help him in his work among the heathen. It is unnecessary to say much of the history of this unique community. Every one who reads this book will most probably have read that much more interesting one, *Pitcairn's Island*, by the Rev. T. B. Murray. Such a people are not perhaps to be judged by the same standard as ourselves. A luxurious climate, in which the trial of plenty removes the stimulus to industry and supplies constant temptations to idleness, is not conducive to the formation of a self-reliant character. Moreover, the Pitcairners are a mixed race, in whom the energy of the Saxon is weakened by the innate indolence of the Papuan. They have not had the advantages of intercourse with the world, and therefore it is not to be wondered at if their characters are lacking in moral force. They have the habits of children—of good children, doubtless—but yet of children who have been over-petted and sheltered too much from the buffetings of the world. If we may anticipate matters somewhat, this is the place to mention that when the bishop found in Norfolk Island a suitable head-quarters for the mission, in which his scholars might be kept under instruction all the year round, whereas the harsher climate of New Zealand obliged them to return to their tropical homes for the winter, at great expense, and to the great delay of their own education, the Pitcairn people expressed the strongest disapprobation of the plan; and their friends in England, from whom more wisdom was to be expected, joined in the outcry. It was supposed that contact with heathens and semi-heathens would injuriously affect their *morale*, whereas, in the progress of the mission and in the working of the Church-ship, the people might have found means, both for the enlargement of their spiritual sympathy and for their temporal advancement. Some eleven years later, in 1867, the mission was esta

blished finally on Norfolk Island, and the presence of its staff has been of great service in many ways to the original community. Had their scruples been disregarded at first, much expenditure of means, of time, and of labour would have been spared.

It was while on this visitation that the "Southern Cross" touched at Norfolk Island. Here Mrs. Selwyn remained for eight weeks, during which the bishop sailed further northward than on any previous cruise. As the southern portion of the Melanesian field had been left, although full of promise, the northern islands seem to be opened in a wonderful way, and to offer their choicest youth. Landings were effected on sixty islands, and thirty-three scholars were brought back to New Zealand, the majority of them from the larger islands of Bauro and Guadalcanar, in the Solomon group.

In the Banks' Islands, which form the northern portion of the New Hebrides, an admirable harbour, known to us as Port Patteson, was discovered in the midst of a group of islands, whose inhabitants, although not so intelligent as other Melanesians, were the only tribes who did not practise cannibalism. Mota, or Sugar Loaf Island, in this group, has since become a very important station. With these lads on board, and Mr. Patteson daily utilising them as grammars and lexicons, the "Southern Cross" returned to Norfolk Island. Already the young savages had been brought under something like discipline; and, to the astonishment of the little settlement, the bishop was rowed ashore by a crew of Solomon Islanders, wearing rings in their noses, who were now perfectly tractable, although a few weeks before they had never seen a white man. On Norfolk Island the whole resident population of suitable age was confirmed, and the yacht, with the bishop, returned to New Zealand. Here, during the summer months, school was

carried on—the scholars teaching their own languages to the missionaries, and receiving in return lessons in industry and self-control, as well as instruction in reading and writing, and all tending to open their minds to receive Christianity; but at the approach of winter these delicate Papuans had to be carried back to their warmer homes. This was a great tax. The nearest island from which they came was three weeks' sail from New Zealand; and all the interruption to the routine of their work, all the trouble and delay and expense of the double voyage across a stormy sea, might have been avoided, had not the Pitcairners objected so strongly to the mission occupying a portion of Norfolk Island. To remedy the inconvenience as far as possible, Mr. Patteson remained during the winter of 1858 with his Solomon and Banks' scholars at Lifu, on the Loyalty group; but this could only be a temporary expedient. In the year 1860 again Mr. Patteson wintered at Mota, teaching the people and communicating by boat with neighbouring islands; but a long sojourn here is and must be attended with much risk to Europeans.

In 1860 the mission sustained a great loss by the wreck of the "Southern Cross" on her return voyage from the Banks' Islands. At the same time the college at Auckland became too small for the increasing numbers. An estate of some 157 acres at Kohimārama, near Auckland, was therefore purchased: the munificent authoress of *The Daisy Chain* having given £2,000—the then profits of that charming story—for the purpose. On this was erected the Missionary College of St. Andrew. *Now* at length the machinery seemed to be complete. Its plan had been tested by the experience of a dozen years; its teachers were in full work; its permanent home, as it was supposed, was built; a new "Southern Cross" was to be sent from England; and there was one man who, beyond all others,

seemed marked out to lead the mission onward, if Providence so willed, to greater successes. Mr. Patteson had for six years thrown all his zeal and all the powers of his mind into the work. In acquiring and reducing to grammar and system between thirty and forty languages, he had shown that he was a second Mezzofanti; and amid the manifold cares which devolved upon him, nothing was too minute for him. In 1861, on St. Matthias' Day, he was consecrated a missionary bishop; and the work which had been founded by Bishop Selwyn henceforth devolved on him.

This was a remarkable year for the Anglican Church. On the first day of 1861 Bishop Mackenzie was consecrated at Capetown, for the Zambesi; in the following month Bishop Patteson was consecrated for Melanesia; and in England, only technical and legal difficulties delayed the consecration of the first Bishop of Honolulu until the month of December. For the first time the Anglican Church extended its episcopate beyond the limits of the British dominions; and in one year, from the Antipodes, from South Africa, and from England itself, three missions were sent forth to carry, in their integrity, the graces and sacraments and organisation of the Church to heathen lands.

In 1862 the bishop, having a passage given him by the captain of H.M.S. "Cordelia," penetrated further north than he had ever done before, and reached the Island of Ysabel, on the seventh parallel of south latitude, from which a scholar was brought to New Zealand in the following year. The missionary voyage of 1862 was made in a hired vessel, of which the captain and part-owner was a native New Zealander.

In 1863 the new "Southern Cross" arrived, in the command of an officer of the Royal Navy. This mission vessel has rendered essential public service, since her voyages

have been really the voyages of a surveying ship; and the charts, drawn by her captain, are the most trustworthy,—in some instances the only ones that can be obtained. The years 1863 and 1864 were chequered by troubles. In the first, a serious epidemic attacked the scholars at Kohimārama; and in the second, Bishop Patteson and his crew were attacked by the natives of Santa Cruz, and two young Pitcairners died of their wounds. Nevertheless, both in the college and in the islands, the work had begun to tell. From the first the lads had been trusted, and a sense of honour and self-respect had been begotten in them. Seven had been baptized in this year, others were in preparation, and all were advancing in civilisation and in habits of industry. In the islands, specially in the Banks' group, the barbarous habits of the people were mollified and subdued, and the reports, brought by the scholars of their experiences at Kohimārama, had disposed their relatives to receive their missionary visitors with kindness.

In 1864 the work was brought before the Australian Churches (as it had been fourteen years before), and the immediate result was a promise of considerable support from the several dioceses; at the same time the inconvenience of having the head-quarters of the mission so far from the islands was more and more felt, and the government of Queensland offered Curtis Island, on the north-east coast of Australia, as being conveniently placed, and affording a climate and food more like that which was natural to the Melanesians than New Zealand. On inspection, Curtis Island proved unsuitable; and in 1867 a settlement was offered to Bishop Patteson on Norfolk Island, the natural head-quarters of the work. The Pitcairners had not only laid aside the objections—to which more attention was paid in 1856 than they deserved—but from two of their body having been killed at Santa Cruz in

1864, and others being still connected with the mission, they had come to feel a warm sympathy with it. In October, 1867, Bishop Patteson wrote: "We have made our great move (great for us small folk) from Kohimārama to Norfolk Island. I believe that our change is likely to turn out well. The climate and powers of producing native food—yams, bananas, and maize—are greatly in favour of it. We have some wooden buildings up, enough to accommodate, after our fashion, about eighty or ninety Melanesians and eight or ten English unmarried people."

In 1868 an outbreak of typhoid fever among the Pitcairn people, who seem to have been ignorant of all sanitary precautions, reached the mission, although it was three miles distant and a strict quarantine had been observed. This prevented any voyaging to the islands, lest the infection should be spread. There were some advantages in this: the lads were able to pursue their studies without interruption; and the necessary work attendant on the settlement of a large community on land, which, however fertile, was uncultivated, and without houses or fences, was pushed on vigorously. The mission now more closely resembled a Moravian settlement than any mission of the Church of England. It was to be dependent on its own land and its own crops for its support. Tea, sugar, and coffee had to be imported at first; but as soon as the land was fenced, a large breadth was planted with yams, sweet potato, and maize, which are the main articles of food among the natives. The work of the printing presses was not allowed to be neglected; several of the lads proved very exact compositors. The whole of the Prayer-book had by this time been translated and printed, and the bishop had completed the translation of the fourth Gospel. In the school the variety of languages made many classes necessary, and so added to the labour of the teachers. By this time many had

been baptized, and when they returned to their homes they did not stand alone, but had the advantage of mutual support.

The mission had now become so established, and its routine so stereotyped, that a sketch of its daily work, contributed to *Mission Life* by a naval officer, may be given as an illustration of the general principles on which it has been conducted.

"At 7 A.M. the whole community meets in chapel. As it would be impossible for every language spoken by the many members of the congregation to be used, either in hall or chapel, the language of Mota, one of the Banks' Islands, has been adopted as the common tongue, and this is understood now by the scholars who come from thirty or forty islands, each with its own language or dialect. The psalms are chanted, the hymns sung in parts and in capital tune,—for the Melanesians have good ears for music. To morning prayer succeeds breakfast, where, with the exception of tea, as a concession to English habits, all fare alike and sit at a common table, the diet being chiefly vegetables, with biscuits and milk. After breakfast there is school for an hour and a-half; then work of all kinds—planting, fencing, digging, building, printing, and what not. At one o'clock comes dinner; then work again until tea, which is at six. Evening classes and prayers follow, and bed-time is early. The bishop and the white teachers, clergy and laity, retire to their own rooms after evening prayers, but it is understood that they are not inaccessible; and at this time some of the more thoughtful and intelligent of the lads come to them, and, with the shyness of an Englishman, painfully speak of their difficulties, and ask for help and guidance. Some of these difficulties have been suggested by the scriptural instruction which they have received: this, to the more advanced classes, is given in the form of lectures, at which they take notes, for the aid of their own memories. On

Saturday work and school are suspended, and the whole party goes fishing, bathing, playing rounders, or otherwise diverting itself."

In this community there is no servant seen. It is, literally, a community, having work and all things in common. The teachers set the example in all kinds of work by doing their own part: it is not the life of a democracy, but of an united Christian family. The domestic question which troubles English society is unknown in the less conventional atmosphere of Norfolk Island. This arose from the necessity, in the first instance, of showing a party of savages how everything was to be done. Whether it was feeding the pigs, milking the cows, or washing cups and plates, the missionaries had first to do it with their own hands. How different is this from the contemptuous treatment which "black fellows" and "niggers" receive from English gentlemen in other parts of the world! The Christian only is a true gentleman and Christianity the only true civiliser.

In December, 1868, a great event befel the mission—the ordination of the first native. George Sarawīa, a native of Vanua-Lava, one of the Banks' Islands, came away from his home with Bishop Selwyn ten years before. Up to that time he had never seen a white man; in 1859 his friends prevented him returning to Kohimārama; in 1860 he came back, and had never left the mission since. The ordination was held in the little chapel at Norfolk Island dedicated to St. Barnabas. Mr. Bice, of St. Augustine's College, was ordained at the same time. The service was wholly in the Mota lauguage; fifty-five Melanesians were present, and had so studied the ordination service for several weeks as to be able to follow it intelligently. In the middle of 1869 the Rev. George Sarawīa was stationed at Mota, with his wife and two married couples, natives of the island, and communicants, who were able to assist him in school and to

teach their countrymen by example and precept. Land was purchased and a wooden house was built, and the station was called by the lads Kohimārama, in memory of their old station in New Zealand.

In 1869 a very satisfactory cruise was made. The bishop spent a month at Mota, the guest of George Sarawīa; the Solomon group was carefully visited—Mr. Atkin spending three weeks on shore at San Christoval and Mr. Brooke ten days at Florida. The people of the northern islands are far more intelligent than in the southern: they are artistic in their work, decorate their canoes and weapons with taste and much pains, and are a strong testimony to the theory that these islands were originally peopled by an emigration from the more cultivated races of Asia.

In 1870 Mr. Codrington spent six weeks at Mota, while the bishop went northwards in the Church-ship. The journal of his sojourn there, the only white man among so many natives, each the object of varying hopes and fears, is as interesting reading as could be wished for; the contrast between an Oxford Fellow, reading for his recreation on that remote island *Pere Gatry's Letters*, *Liddon's Bampton Lectures*, and Max Müller's *Flint Chips*, the latest products of European thought, and the speculations of the people about himself, some believing him to be a "Tamate," or ghost, their savage ways and customs, their glimmerings of better things, their imitation of English ways, and their ultimate belief that they are even as the English, is very striking. No one can fail to see from reading Mr. Codrington's journal how great a power among such a people is one intelligent Englishman, and what immense aid he possesses in the things which are to us matters of everyday use, but which, utterly strange to the natives, are regarded by them as evidences of the superior level on which he lives. The man who could take photographs and print from the negatives, who could wind up a clock and

cause it to strike when standing some yards away from it, was surely to be listened to when he urged the giving up of charms, even the burning of them, the laying aside of weapons, and the use of soap and water, to say nothing of greater and higher things.

At the end of 1870 the bishop reported that at Norfolk Island there were 180 Melanesians, of whom sixty-two were baptized, and eleven or twelve were about to be baptized; seventeen were communicants, and seven were to be admitted to their first communion on Christmas Day: that many more were catechumens, and that the earnestness of the elder ones was shown by their proposing voluntarily to go to other islands, where the dialect was like their own; that the idea of undertaking mission work was becoming general, and that there were five young men whom he should be ready to ordain at that time, if any immediate need existed for the ministrations of native clergy: as it was, he preferred to use them as lay evangelists. In 1871 the "Southern Cross" took away more than twenty native Christians to settle in their own homes: at the end of that year there were more than 300 Christians living on their native islands, and among their own friends. In the school at Norfolk Island were representatives of nearly all the islands from "Three Hills," in the New Hebrides, to "Ysabel," in the Solomon group, extending over nine degrees of latitude. Four of the Solomon islanders—three from Florida and one from Savo—had spent two years on Norfolk Island under the care of Mr. Brooke, and had returned home apparently little influenced: in the light of their new teaching the heathenism of their people appeared in its true colours. They asked to be brought back in the "Southern Cross." On their voyage they witnessed the attack at Nukapu; and in the sufferings and death of Stephen Taroaniara they saw that what had been taught to

him was true, and they asked for baptism, that they might live and die as he had lived and died. Poor, simple savages! many a *savant* of European fame might envy their simple faith. In this year, which ended so fatally, remarkable progress had been made. Another clerical helper, Mr. Jackson, had joined the staff from the Diocese of Christ Church; a medical man had been secured for Norfolk Island; many sojourns were made on islands that before had only been visited for a few hours. Mr. Bice spent ten days on Leper's Island, in the New Hebrides, the first white man who had ever done such a thing, and brought away several lads with him; Mr. Brooke spent three months on Florida, one of the Solomon group; and on Savo, Wadrokal, an old pupil, with four Christian natives, was placed in order to establish a school. Mr. Atkin spent the last three months of his useful but brief life in the Southern Solomon Islands, his head-quarters being on San Christoval, but his new boat enabled him to make many perilous excursions to the neighbouring islands; his companion in all these was the faithful Stephen Taroaniara, who afterwards died with him. Bishop Patteson spent nearly four months on Mota with George Sarawia. The results of his work are shown by the fact of his having baptized 293 persons, infants and adults: while he was on this island teachers were sent by him to the neighbouring islands of Santa Maria and Saddle Islands; but the story had better be told in the bishop's own words, and by one of the last letters which he wrote.

It was on August 22, 1871, that the following letter was written to Canon Vidal, of Sydney:—

"You will be thankful to hear that the time has arrived, by God's great goodness, for Mota to receive the Gospel. Much has no doubt been done by George Sarawia's steady, consistent behaviour; by the regular school that for two years he has kept up; and by the example of our scholars

as they returned to take up their quarters for good on their native island. But so it is that God's Spirit is now working in the minds and hearts of the people there, so as to be to themselves and to us a cause of thankfulness and astonishment.

"We have sought to be very cautious, and have not baptized even the children, except where they were evidently sickly, or even dying. But now the parents all promise that their children shall go to school, and be brought up as Christians; and many of the people are seeking to be baptized, saying that 'they do see and feel the truth and blessing of this new teaching, and have really abandoned their old habits, and feel new thoughts, and hopes, and desires, &c.' Our Catechism classes have been large; and I think I may safely say that they have learned the great truths of Christianity, and have an intelligent apprehension of a Christian's faith and duty. In every case, I need not say, we sought to ascertain fully that there was real conviction, earnestness, faith in the truths and promises of the Gospel, and full purpose of amendment of life.

"There has been no excitement and no outpouring of strong feeling; but a quiet, gradual movement extending itself from one party to another.

"Men went away from evening school to sit all night in their houses talking, thinking, &c. Their own accounts of their timid attempts to begin to pray, of what they said and did, are striking for their simplicity and sincerity. So, from one to the other, the desire communicated itself, as God's Spirit wrought in the heart of each to make full profession of their faith. Many said, 'I see it, and don't doubt at all. I see that Jesus, whom the Father sent to be our Saviour and Redeemer, appointed baptism for the remission of sins, for gathering us into the body of the faithful. But it is so great a thing, so *weighty*, that I fear, if I should break my promise; if I should go back to old ways.'

"Well, so it went on during seven weeks, broken by a cruise of three weeks among the New Hebrides Islands into two portions of three and four weeks.

"We have baptized 293 persons: seventeen lads of George Sarawia's school; forty-one grown up and mostly married men and women; the rest children and infants.

"You will, I know, pray more than ever for this little infant church, and for George Sarawia."

The third voyage of this year witnessed the calamity which took away the head of the mission to his reward. The tragedy was not unexpected either by the mission party or by their friends in England. From the first the mission had been conducted with great peril, in consequence of the conduct of sailors and traders, who touched at the islands for water or to trade with the natives for sandal-wood, which they sold to the Chinese to be burnt as incense in their joss-houses. For years the clergy had been in the habit of mentioning in their letters that their work had been hindered, and the confidence of the people in themselves shaken, by the presence of vessels which kidnapped the natives and carried them off to Fiji and to Queensland. In 1868 the Mota people came to the bishop, and in a most pathetic manner implored him to bring back to them their friends, who had been carried away by fraud, offering him two large pigs, the greatest treasure they possessed, if only he would do so. In the adjoining island of Ara, in 1869, the people showed the bishop the spot where they had attacked a boat's crew belonging to a ship which had taken away one cargo of their friends and had come back for another: "*they had refrained from killing the men whom they wounded, for fear the bishop would be angry when he heard of it.*" In 1870 Mr. Codrington found that a ship had been wrecked at Whitsuntide Island, and five white men had lived comfortably on shore with the savages for weeks: at length a

"snatch-snatch" vessel came to the neighbouring island of Ambrym and carried off some people by violence; the news was carried to Whitsuntide, and, as an act of retaliation, the people there killed and ate the shipwrecked men, whom they had before so kindly entertained as friends. Therefore, when the news came to Norfolk Island, to New Zealand, to Australia, and to those persons in England who had followed the work of this mission, that on the vigil of St. Matthew, the apostle, evangelist, and martyr, he who had been so long the apostle and evangelist of the Pacific had fallen in the midst of his labours, however great the grief, the surprise was small. That the lives of Bishop Patteson, Mr. Atkin, and Stephen Taroaniara were taken as a justifiable expiation of the deeds of other white men is clear: there was no grudge against them personally; only the previous year they had been among the people of Nukapu. The canoes met the "Southern Cross" three or four miles out at sea; the natives clambered on board without fear; the bishop had landed and gone with the people into the village, and the boat lay on the beach for an hour. How sad was the change in one year! Sadder still to think that it was caused by the greed and treachery of men who spoke our language, who probably called themselves Christians, who had even traded on the confidence which the people reposed in the bishop, and had resorted to the dastardly artifice of painting their ships like the "Southern Cross," in order that their wicked errand might not be suspected.

So, on the shore of the Island of Nukapu the first Bishop of Melanesia died the martyr's death; the penalty which the unreasoning logic of savage laws demanded was exacted, but no further insult was done to the lifeless body of the saintly prelate. Wrapped in a mat, with the knotted palm-branch on the breast (a suggestive emblem whatever the intentions of those who laid it there), it was replaced in the

boat and floated out to the "Southern Cross," where the sorrowing companions received it, and the next day committed it to the deep.

Had an English gun-boat been allowed to cruise in these waters for the last three years, during which the growing evasions of the "Merchant Shipping Act" and the "Queensland Labour Act" had made the people more and more hostile to white men, the catastrophe might have been spared. We think with shame of the numbers of our countrymen who, directly they are removed from the restraints of civilised life, sink into mere braves; we think with shame of the dishonour done to our flag by such persons, while in every sea English people with unjustifiable pride swagger and shout "Rule, Britannia!" These evil specimens of the Anglo-Saxon race cannot be trusted beyond the surveillance of the law; and a gun-boat would have been well employed in restraining them. At length H.M.S. "Rosario" was ordered to cruise in these waters, and on reaching Norfolk Island her commander learned that the tragedy had occurred which he was sent to prevent, but which he now resolved to avenge.

The tale of the achievements of this frigate we read with sorrow. The commander writes: "On opening the village, I fired a couple of broadsides at 2,400 yards. . . . I left the ship with the two cutters and gigs, manned and armed, and pulled into the village. On arriving within a hundred yards of the shore, I tried pacific measures, and called out for the two chiefs, Taula and Mota, who were the men that accompanied the late Bishop Patteson on shore, when he was murdered; but they immediately opened fire, several of the arrows striking the boat. On the arrival of the other boats I gave the order to open fire with the rifles, so as to clear the bush to enable us to land, but finding it impossible to dislodge them, the order was given to land and destroy

the village, which was accordingly done, although the natives behaved most pluckily: their loss would be difficult to ascertain, though I fancy it must have been severe."

We have no wish to criticise this achievement unjustly: all at once the outraged majesty of the law, so long defied with impunity, is upheld; a bishop's death is avenged by the ruined villages, the mangled limbs and forfeited lives of those whom he only wished to convert and to civilise. Not after this fashion would our good missionary bishop have desired that the deaths of himself and of his friends should be avenged. Vengeance! there was no such word in his vocabulary, save in the Christian sense of returning good for evil. Indeed, as though with prophetic instinct, he had protested against such a step. In his memorandum presented to the Provincial Synod of New Zealand he wrote: "I desire to protest by anticipation against any punishment being inflicted against the natives of these islands who may cut off vessels or kill boats' crews, until it is clearly shown that these are not done in the way of retribution for outrages first committed by white men. . . . People write inconsiderately about the treachery of these islanders. I have experienced no instance of anything of the kind during fourteen years' intercourse with them; and I may fairly claim the right to be believed when I say, that if the Melanesian is treated kindly he will reciprocate such treatment readily. The contact of many of these traders arouses all the worst suspicions and passions of the wild, untaught man. It is not difficult to find an answer to the question, Who is the savage and who is the heathen man?" In spite of this, "a couple of broadsides" have been poured into the village of Nukapu, and a party of British sailors and marines have added another to their many laurels, by inflicting a loss which their commander "fancied must have been severe" on the savage but "plucky" population. The

British supremacy is therefore re-established ; it has nothing to fear from Nukapu. Whether the future work of the missionaries in these islands is not made an impossibility is altogether another matter : the outrage on a British subject has been avenged after a code far stricter than Moses' law. Had Bishop Patteson lost his life at the hands of some representative, however degraded, of a powerful state, the British dignity would perhaps have been appeased in some less sanguinary manner, and edifying orations would have been uttered, and exalted despatches written, in laudation of the march of human progress, which referred the disputes of nations to pacific arbitration. Circumstances alter cases, and even great principles are sometimes affected by them.

Stunned as they were by the calamity, the survivors did not neglect the work of the mission ; indeed, the extremity of the occasion was a great test of the zeal of the converts. Every member, white and black, has from the first determined that the work shall go on as their dear bishop would have wished that it should go on, and the more advanced scholars have shown a thoughtfulness and power of usefulness greater than could have been expected from them. Mr. Codrington has visited Queensland in the hope of meeting with some of his old scholars ; he found only four with whom he could converse, and they were strangers to him ; but, to the disgrace of a Christian colony, he found that not the slightest effort had been made, whether by Nonconformists or Churchmen, to provide instruction of any kind for the 2,000 Melanesian immigrants in the colony.

The deaths of these patient servants of the Cross have tended, more perhaps than did their self-denying lives, to awaken a sympathy with missionary work and a belief in its reality. The sad event and the legislation necessary to suppress the infamous traffic which caused it, deservedly held a prominent place in the Royal Speech at the opening of

Parliament in February, 1872. Money has been lately given freely towards the support of the mission: among the offerings was one of £1 10*s.* 4*d.*, from a tribe of Dacota Indians in North America, who were themselves, only four years ago, sunk in apparently hopeless barbarism. Still more recently a son of the revered founder of the mission, the Rev. John Selwyn, has resigned his living in England, and given himself as a sharer of the labours of that faithful but suffering band, who amid so many perils are winning the islands of the far Pacific for their Lord and Master.

XXXI.

THE work of the Church in Australia, or, at least, in the settled districts of that continent, has outlived the heroic age, and has come down to the level of ordinary pastoral work, although the extent of parochial districts and of dioceses make that work to be on a larger scale than Churchmen are accustomed to at home. It was, however, the work of heroes to minister in that newly-peopled country half a century ago. The self-devotion of Mr. Johnson and, at a later period, of Mr. Marsden, whose ministrations to a miserable convict population were thwarted and hindered by the authorities from whom they had a right to expect sympathy, have been mentioned in a previous paper. Such men were indeed the salt which saved the whole colony from becoming irretrievably corrupt. Before Marsden's death, the Australian Church had received one who was destined to exercise a great influence upon it: this was William Grant Broughton, who in 1829 was appointed Archdeacon of New South Wales, the country itself forming a part of the diocese of Calcutta. At that time the colony was almost without the means of grace; there were some 60,000 English people, of whom more than one-third were convicts, scattered over an immense area, some in the newly-formed towns, others far away in the bush, and hardly one clergyman to each 5,000 of the population. And what a population it was! The criminals of the mother country sent out under conditions which were certain to make them more depraved, and

turned loose in a land almost barren of religious privileges, and in which the worship of God at stated times was imposed as a matter of discipline on the prisoners, but performed by none as a duty or as a privilege. Archdeacon Broughton was a man of greater power and possessed higher intellectual vigour than any of the earlier Australian chaplains; he was not content with struggling against the opposition of local officials, but he boldly appealed to the mother country, and in conjunction with the excellent Judge, Sir W. Burton, revealed to the whole world the pandemonium which England had raised up at the Antipodes. In 1836 Australia was formed into an episcopal see, and its first archdeacon became its first bishop. The labours of Bishop Broughton were truly apostolic: he journeyed alone (for the clergy were too few to allow of his having a companion) over the whole of that colony which is now the scene of the labours of sixteen bishops. In 1838 he visited New Zealand, and was instrumental in securing the establishment of that see. If it be said that the population of the colony in those days bore no proportion to the present number, the difficulties of travelling were infinitely greater then than now. There were few roads and scanty entertainment; deeds of violence were then of every-day occurrence. Even those who wished for better things were removed far from all means of grace. In 1843 the bishop wrote:—

"In my present journey I have been through one county, Durham, in the whole extent of which there is not a church, and only one clergyman; in the adjoining county of Brisbane, there is one church and one clergyman—no more. After that I shall pass through three entire counties in which there is neither minister nor ordinance of religion, and the five counties included in this enumeration contain a fourth part of the area of New South Wales, and from a sixteenth to an eighteenth of the entire population." The energies of the

Church of England were at this time concentrated on New South Wales, and surely there was a cause; year after year clergymen and money for their support were sent out, and the work attracted many men of no ordinary gifts and talents. In 1843 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was maintaining forty clergymen in this diocese: a great contrast to the sixteen which were at work when the bishop was consecrated, seven years before; in the same time, the churches had increased from seventeen to forty-five, and a college for training candidates for Holy Orders had been opened. In 1840 the Legislature determined that no more convicts should be sent to New South Wales. As this immigration ceased, the stream of free immigrants rapidly increased, and year by year the fact became more evident that the diocese needed subdivision. The bishop made a sacrifice of one-fourth of his income, £500 per annum, to secure this object, and on St. Peter's Day, 1847, of the four bishops then consecrated in Westminster Abbey, three,—viz., the bishops of Newcastle, Melbourne, and Adelaide,—became suffragans of the new metropolitical see of Sydney. To the endowment of the first two the bishop had contributed from his own income; the See of Adelaide, together with that of Capetown, founded at the same time, was endowed by a member of the Church at home. This was a great relief, but the dioceses thus formed were still so large that the area of each may here be recorded with advantage. Taking as a standard Great Britain, which has an area of 100,000 square miles, we find that Sydney was just that area; Newcastle was five times as large; Melbourne four-fifths, or 80,000 square miles, and Adelaide thrice as large. Each of these dioceses, with the exception of Melbourne, has been since subdivided; out of Sydney the diocese of Goulburn was taken in 1863, with one-fourth of the population, but a far larger share of the area of the colony; while in 1869 another subdivision took place, and a

grandson of Dr. Marsden, the Apostle of New Zealand, became the first Bishop of Bathurst. Newcastle, with its 800 miles of coast, and stretching inland from east to west some 700 miles, was relieved in 1859 of the colony of Moreton Bay, or South Queensland, by the establishment of the See of Brisbane, which formed the northern portion of the diocese; and in 1867 a new diocese was formed between Brisbane and Newcastle, and was called Grafton and Armidale. In 1856 Western Australia was severed from the See of Adelaide, and the bishopric of Perth was established. Thus the episcopate, tardily given to Australia in 1836, has developed into sixteen sees. In New Zealand, which then formed part of Bishop Broughton's charge, there are now six dioceses, exclusive of the missionary bishopric in Melanesia. Tasmania became an independent see in 1842, and on the continent of Australia there are now nine bishops. This has been accomplished neither wholly nor in the largest degree by Churchmen in England: the Colonial Bishoprics Council and the Church Societies have made considerable donations, but only to meet the far larger sums raised in the colonies. Amid a striving people, who in the majority of cases began life without capital, and have had to struggle against many difficulties, there have been found Churchmen who valued the blessings of episcopacy, and who have given munificently to secure them for their posterity. The example set by Bishop Broughton has had its effect on the laity: it has been repeated more than once by the Bishop of Newcastle, who has himself contributed largely to the endowment both of the original see and of those of Brisbane and of Grafton and Armidale.

The history of the Australian Church since 1847 is, in fact, the history of the several dioceses. Bishop Broughton continued his vigorous rule, to the great benefit both of his diocese and of the province, until 1853. In Melbourne,

reckless speculation, with its natural reaction, at one time reduced the colony to the verge of bankruptcy. The city had sprung up like a gourd; land fetched a fabulous price; labourers received 10*s.* per diem, and a sheep was worth £3 10*s.* Emigrants from all parts hurried to what promised to be truly Australia Felix; soon the labour market was glutted, land was to be had for a nominal sum, a sheep was worth only 1*s.* 6*d.* This was a time of crisis, but the colony recovered from it, and in 1851 the discovery of gold brought an influx of emigrants and conferred on it a prosperity greater and more firmly established than ever it had enjoyed before. The return of fortune to the people extended to the Church, and to the cause of religion; there were many who gave largely to the Church out of their newly-found wealth, but the liberality of the colony was shown by the action of the Legislature of Victoria, which appropriated a large annual sum to the building of places of worship, and the payment of the stipends of religious teachers. State aid is not the wisest shape in which the piety of a community can show itself; it taxes all alike, removes from the devout the feeling that they are making an offering to God, and affords to the careless an opportunity of grumbling that they are taxed for the support of public worship; it establishes no bond of Christian unity between the teachers and their people, and, as it may be withdrawn at any time, is utterly untrustworthy as a matter of permanent help. With the exception of this State aid, which has been in its full extent limited to Melbourne, what has been written of this diocese fairly describes the condition of the other dioceses in New South Wales. In all the discovery of gold,—while it has disarranged previous calculations and emptied townships in which churches had been built, and thrown their inhabitants houseless and churchless on a barren hill-side swarming with diggers,—has necessarily

added to the general wealth and prosperity of the colony. In Brisbane, in a sub-tropical climate, industry has opened out other fields of enterprise. In the plantations, where Europeans cannot safely expose themselves to the sun, large numbers of Coolies are employed, and the supposed necessity for such labourers has led to the miserable abduction of Melanesians, of which enough has been written in the preceding paper. There it was stated that although 2,000 of these heathen were working in a Christian colony, no effort whatever had been made to provide them with any religious instruction. If there be any value in statistics, and if extension beyond the towns into the remoter districts be any true test of a Church's vigour, the Diocese of Brisbane will not compare favourably with the other dioceses of Australia. The diocese whose churches are in the best condition,—whose financial system is the soundest, and which is so arranged as that neither the clergy shall be the slaves of their flocks, nor the flocks the mere paymasters of their pastors,—which has elicited from its members the largest gifts for the endowment of its churches, and for its own subdivision, and which year by year contributes most largely both to the Melanesian and other heathen missions,—is the Diocese of Newcastle. This diocese has likewise had the advantage, unparalleled in our colonial episcopate, of the uninterrupted residence of Bishop Tyrrell, since his arrival from England in 1848.

In Adelaide the Church has had greater prosperity, and has become independent at an earlier date than in any other diocese. It has long been self-supporting: the gifts of early settlers having increased in value with the other property of the colony. The poorer part of the diocese, which is now the See of Perth, had not the same advantages with which to start; the great dearth of labour made the construction of roads, of bridges, of government buildings and other neces-

sary elements of commercial success almost impossible; the colonists have therefore been obliged to offer to accept convict labour from England.

It must not be supposed from the rapid development of the Australian Church that its resources are even now at all commensurate with its needs. Sydney, Adelaide, Perth, and Tasmania no longer receive any pecuniary help from England. Grafton, and Armidale, and Bathurst, have never received any such assistance since they were formed into separate sees. It is obvious that the small grants from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to the other dioceses must shortly be withdrawn and spent on more necessitous places. Even now it seems at first sight ridiculous to send money to the wealthy colony of Victoria, whose Church receives State aid to the amount of nearly £20,000 per annum; and it is most certain that when such precarious aid as the Legislature now gives is withdrawn, the deficiency will have to be supplied from private offerings in the colony. But we in England are apt to overlook or to fail to realise the immense area over which a colonial population is spread, and that in spiritual things the law of supply and demand does not hold good: a body of gold diggers is not likely to apply for the ministrations of a clergyman, or to build for themselves a church as readily as they will build a theatre or a drinking-bar: the want of amusement or of refreshment they feel, and they will do their best to supply it; their spiritual needs they do not realise; the sense of them has to be created. The clever author of *The Clockmaker* tells us that when he found no one who would buy his clocks because they had done without one so long that they did not need one, he asked to be allowed for his own convenience to leave one until his next visit. He was careful to leave a good one, to hang it up and set it going. In a month's time he would fetch it, and say nothing about selling it, but the people had

got so accustomed to its tickings and warnings and strikings that they now became the petitioners, and gave him whatever price he asked. To compare small things with great: a visit of an earnest clergyman to a settlement of squatters, or shepherds, or diggers, will teach them that they have needs of which heretofore they were unconscious, and they will take means for supplying themselves and their necessities, but they must not be expected to meet a want of which they are ignorant. Far away on the downs and in the bush of Australia there must, for many years to come, be large numbers of English people removed from any but the most irregular ministrations. The life of a clergyman in these districts is a hard one; he has no great dangers, except from an occasional assault from the natives, but neither can he look for many comforts in his work or for himself personally. He can see his people only at such intervals, and even then only at the risk of neglecting the few residents in the town which is his head-quarters, that he can hope to make but little impression, and must not expect to see the results of any that may have been made. By starting on a Monday morning and riding hard until the Saturday week following, he manages to hold services night by night in wool sheds, in drinking bars, or even *sub Dio;* he will have dropped on some lonely shepherd in his bark hut on a run miles away from any station, and found him perhaps an educated gentleman, a graduate or an ex-military man, but sullen and broken down by a series of reverses. Here and there his ministrations will be received gladly, and he will regret the more the necessity of leaving those who have welcomed him. Tired and worn, he will get back to his home on Saturday night, after twelve days' hard riding, and hard living on tea, damper, and beef, tobacco his only material luxury, to find that the cessation of service on the previous Sunday has offended some of his congregation, and risked

the amount of his yearly stipend. The country will one day be covered with parishes of more moderate size, and the clergy will not have to live in the saddle. As it is, surely the need of caring for the squatter population is self-evident: their present condition witnesses to the past neglect of the Church. Among them are many over whom friends at home have prayed and sorrowed, and who, after a thoughtless career in England, have gone to the colonies in the hope of undoing the past. A recent work of much interest* has given a vivid description of life in a sheep station. The writer, himself an Oxford graduate, tells us that he once worked for a man who could barely write his name, and who had seven shepherds, among whom there were an Oxford graduate, a Cambridge graduate, a Dublin graduate, a Wintonian, and a Crimean officer who had carried the colours into the Redan; they had come down to this work as the only thing for which they were suited, and of them and of the people generally he wrote, "As a rule, they all drink." Religion in any visible form was never brought before them. It is with communities as with individuals: these men will pass away, but the next generation will inherit the irreligious tone which will have been insensibly formed by those who preceded them.

The Australian dioceses have with more than moderate success provided for the education of the colonists, for the training of such as desire to be educated for the ministry, and for the government of the Church by a system of diocesan synods under the provincial synod. Many excellent grammar schools fit boys to enter the University of Sydney, and the ranks of the clergy are largely recruited with persons born in the colony. It is, of course, very desirable thus to make the Church an indigenous one, at the same time care

* *Colonial Adventures and Experiences.* By a University Man. Bell and Daldy, 1871.

must be taken that the training of the clergy shall be such as shall produce a type of Churchmanship which shall have assimilated all that is good that each age and each theological school has given to the world. There is no doubt that the majority of the colonial clergy of Australia have been trained in a narrower school, and have studied within more contracted limits than is good either for themselves or for their flocks. The action of the Australian synods can be studied with advantage at the present time, specially with regard to the proper position and functions of the laity in such assemblies. Recent events in Ireland have not tended to show that irresponsible persons, who have had no distinct theological training, and who fill no spiritual office in the Church, are suitable legislators on questions of doctrine, and in some of the synods of Australia the action of the laity has introduced the most objectionable features of congregationalism. It is to the interest of the whole Church that the action of the clergy should not be hampered by the intimidation of their people. No episcopate will ever be successful when "put in commission," when the bishop is fettered in his proceedings, and has to become either the slave of the laity or their opponent, neither will a people ever learn devotion who regard their pastor as their servant.. It is this tyranny which is depressing and ultimately driving out of the congregationalist body the more able of their ministers; such a policy will keep out of the ranks of the clergy the very men who would have been its chief honour. Experience of Australian synods has shown that the largest powers exercised by the laity are not inconsistent with an amount of episcopal autocracy which is never witnessed in England.

XXXII.

In the preceding paper nothing has been said of the aborigines of Australia. All mention of them was purposely omitted. It is not a subject about which it is pleasant to write, and it is a story which can be told with truth, *mutatis mutandis*, of nearly every one of our colonies in which the "superior" white race has come in contact with the weaker. If proof were wanting of the identity of the several members of the human family, it would be supplied by the rapid descent of the white man to the level of the barbarian, and to those indulgences of his passion and his greed which are supposed to denote the savage, so soon as he is beyond the restraint of public opinion or of human laws. The same conclusion would be arrived at from a directly opposite starting-point, when we see how the so-called savage, treated kindly and not contaminated by the vices of so-called civilisation, rises rapidly in intelligence and self-control, responds readily to acts of kindness, and gives proof of a capacity of learning and an appreciation of spiritual truths. From our grand mistake of sending first traders or criminals, secondly soldiers, and last of all the ministers of religion, the aborigines of our colonies have not had a fair chance. They have been brought in contact with the very outskirts of civilisation and the dregs of our people; and the higher gifts, which a Christian nation might have conferred on them, have been withheld. Their lands, on which their forefathers have hunted, are gradually taken from them. The advance of the victorious

race is steady and rapid; the forests are felled; the bush is cultivated. In Australia the kangaroo and the wallaby are hunted down or driven far into the interior, and the natives share their fate; but, unlike the kangaroo and the wallaby, they have reasoning powers, uncultivated, no doubt, and apt to jump to hasty conclusions. The idea of home is strong within them, and they have a well-defined sense of being wronged when they find their lands appropriated and their hunting-fields becoming year by year more restricted. In the white man's hut the "black fellow" sees flour, sugar, tobacco, and other luxuries. His hunger is keen, and so is his cupidity, just the same cupidity which prompts the settler to seize on the best-watered pasture: if he can do so, he will help himself; if it is a question of spearing the lonely hut-keeper, who stands between him and the object of his desire, he will not hesitate. A terrible retaliation takes place: the "black fellow" becomes the natural enemy of the settler, to be got rid of by any means. The colony is still in a state of primitive anarchy. Every man makes his own laws and carries them into effect. There is a race for precedence, and every day is of importance. There is no time to think of religion for oneself; and as for converting black fellows—pooh! the idea is absurd: they could never receive the most rudimentary instruction. They are a degraded race, utterly past the hope or possibility of amendment; and so the superstition becomes a faith, and the aborigines are to be extirpated, together with the dingos, or wild dogs, who make havoc of the flocks. The devices of English settlers for accomplishing this end makes one blush for one's countrymen. The word of a black is not taken against a white in a colonial court; a bloodthirsty sportsman can therefore shoot down the natives at his pleasure without any fear of being called to account, if only he will be careful to enjoy his battue

alone. There have been instances in which arsenic has been mixed with flour, and the squatter's hut left unguarded, in order to tempt them to pilfer the poisonous food. Where measures so utterly diabolical have not been resorted to, the same end has been reached by the introduction of "fire-water," which is hardly less fatal in its results. England may boast herself of her vast colonial dominions; but her treatment of the aborigines in all parts of the world is a disgrace both to her Christianity and to her methods of government. Far otherwise have the rulers of Norway and Sweden colonised: through their paternal care the aboriginal inhabitants of Lapland have been preserved far on into the nineteenth century, and their interests, spiritual and material, are attended to, although ethnologically they are a race very inferior to the Maori, and not superior to the Australian. If we contrast with this the condition of the North American aborigines after 300 years' contact with Europeans, or those of Tasmania and Australia after little more than half a century, we have not much to be proud of as a civilised or a Christian people.

The Australian aborigines, even the most degraded among them which are found in the south, have been proved over and over again not to be the hopeless savages for whose improvement it is folly to look. On the authority, not of missionaries, but of Government officials, they are declared to be capable of instruction and civilisation. Some who were in confinement for some breach of the law were taught during their five months' imprisonment to read fairly well, to explain in English the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, and to cut and lay stone, so that they, without any help, built a small house. As members of the constabulary, as postmen, as shepherds, as reapers, and as domestic servants, hundreds of them have found regular employment. Their mimetic powers are very great, and in

tracking the path either of runaways or of persons lost in the bush, their intelligence is rarely at fault. It is to the lasting credit of Southern and Western Australia that in those colonies the aborigines have ever been cared for, both by the Government and by the Church. The Bishop of Adelaide early established an institution at Poonindie, whose results ought to silence for ever those who assert that the blacks are sunk hopelessly. The present Bishop of Perth carried to his diocese the experiences which he had gained as superintendent of Poonindie, and the sympathies which those experiences had begotten in him. So warmly is the good bishop interested in the welfare of these waning races, and so righteously indignant is he at the apathy with which their condition is regarded by their white brethren, that he formally resigned his bishopric some two years since, and announced his intention of devoting all his energies to the natives.

It must be admitted that while these two dioceses are distinguished honourably by their care for the blacks, the almost universal creed of the colonists is that the race must die out: an unphilosophical fatalist doctrine, accepted because it is wished to be true. It is probably owing to the power of the laity in the synods that this colonial prejudice has penetrated into and influenced the councils of the Church, and led her to take so little interest in the welfare of the natives. Throughout the whole of the dioceses of Eastern Australia, from Melbourne in the south to Brisbane in the north, either no efforts whatever have been made for their conversion, or they have been made on so small a scale as only to prove more clearly the existence of the duty and the inadequate acknowledgment of it.

In Melbourne much has been done for the Chinese, who have been attracted to the diggings, but comparatively little for the blacks, who had the first claim. In Brisbane, where

they are most numerous, the Church has made no efforts for the aborigines, nor, as was mentioned in a previous paper, for the 2,000 Melanesians at work in the plantations. The Church of Australia seems to have abandoned the care of the native races to the Moravian Brethren, and to the Romanists, both of whom have set noble examples of zeal and sympathy. The Government sometimes has urged the Church to its duty, and specially in Queensland, under the rule of Sir George Bowen, wise and Christian measures were concerted for their benefit, but the Church did not respond. The whole district of Northern Queensland is unfortunately situated in the matter of Church government. The northern limits of the Diocese of Brisbane end with the twenty-first parallel of south latitude, but the continent runs up to Cape York, which is on the tenth parallel: and into the lower part of this region a population is pouring, who, not being within the limits of any see, have to look to the Metropolitan of Australia as their bishop, between whom and themselves there are eleven degrees of latitude and four bishoprics. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Diocese of Rockhampton will soon be a reality.

In 1862 Sir G. Bowen made a voyage of inspection in this part of his government, and he determined to establish a settlement at Somerset, on the north-east extremity of the Australian continent. It was a dreary position, for it was 600 miles from an Australian town, and 1,200 miles from the nearest civilised settlement in the neighbouring archipelago. The good of the public service demanded such a settlement. Vessels sailing through the Torres Straits were often in want of water and fresh meat, and here the settlement could supply them. It would also be a convenient depôt for coal for steamers; and accordingly a party of marines and some Government officers took possession of the site in 1864. The Governor had also discerned

the capabilities of the place for missionary work and for British colonisation, which might extend southwards on the continent, and northwards towards Borneo and Melanesia. Here, indeed, was a promising opportunity for dealing with the natives, before the usual evils of contact with civilisation had befallen them; but unfortunately the Church in Australia did not avail itself of the occasion, and help had to be sought from England. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent out, in 1866, a clergyman and an industrial schoolmaster, Mr. Kennett; but before they had arrived the wonted brutality of the superior race had made the natives their foes. It was not so at first: the blacks, who were found in very considerable numbers, were friendly; they brought in fish, &c., and worked willingly at clearing the scrub and felling trees, receiving payment in biscuit and tobacco. After a while an axe was lost, and a native was accused of stealing it. The suspicion was not an improbable one, although the missing axe was subsequently found; but before this discovery had been made, the supposed culprit had been brought to the barracks and flogged, *pour encourager les autres*. Strange to say, this act of injustice aroused the indignation of the tribe, who attacked the marines and wounded two of them, one mortally. A retaliation was decided upon, and three weeks afterwards several natives, fishing in a canoe, were pursued and shot; soon after two more men were seen near the settlement, and shot: altogether eight lives were taken in revenge for the death of the marine. After a time a sort of treaty was made that no native should come within certain limits of the station without permission; and matters were in this state when the missionary arrived. The clerical missionary returned to Brisbane after a stay of a few months, but Mr. Kennett stayed manfully at his post, and showed that, spite of the brutality of which they had been the subjects, the natives were not yet proof against intelligent kindness.

Around the mission were six tribes, fine stalwart people, very superior in *physique* to the people of the south, and bearing undoubted marks of their Papuan origin. They wore scars across their chest, but were not tattooed like the New Zealanders, and through the nose they wore a stick. They built leafy huts for the rainy season, and in the summer lived wholly in the open air. They possessed sufficient knowledge of sanitary matters to change their camps about every fortnight. Their family life, although polygamy is allowed, is of a higher type than is found among the natives of the south. The women are neither ill-treated nor overworked. There are no idle days. The men fish from sunrise to sunset, and in the evening the whole family sit round the camp fire and take their only regular meal. They have no religion, unless a belief in one evil spirit, to whose malign influences all diseases are ascribed, can be so called. When an unmarried person dies he is buried in a shallow grave, at the corner of which they place stout posts, painted red, and adorned with shells and the skulls of native dogs. On the death of a married person the hair is cut off the head and distributed among relatives and friends ; the eyes are closed, the hands crossed on the breast, and on a stage, raised above the reach of native dogs, the corpse is placed, until from decay the head drops off, when it is carried for months in a basket by the nearest relative. Their mechanical ability is shown in their canoes, which are made of cotton-trees hollowed out, and balanced by two outrigger poles, with a float of driftwood laid across.

Spite of the difficulties caused by the conduct of the marines, Mr. Kennett succeeded in convincing the natives that he was their friend. He arranged a place of meeting, and opened school with eight children. After a while some adults came. They learned the English names of things in common use, and insensibly were teaching Mr. Kennett

much of their language. In May, 1867, the fame of the school had reached to the people of Prince of Wales' Island, who sent a deputation to invite Mr. Kennett to live among them, setting forth that they were more numerous than the tribes on the mainland. Mr. Kennett promised to pay them a visit. On the voyage his canoe was upset, and he found himself on a desert island with only a bottle of water and a tomahawk: thus he remained three days and nights, without any food except one oyster. A fire which he had lighted attracted some natives of another tribe, who came to his relief when he was almost exhausted. Here the savages were full of resources, while their teacher, surrounded by plenty, was starving. They immediately caught him a supply of fish, which they cooked, and afterwards took him in their canoe to Prince of Wales' Island. The tribe whose guest he now became, hearing that he had been so long without food, immediately piled up before him a supply of yams, enough to last him for a fortnight. At night a grand corobboree was held; the chief adopted Mr. Kennett as his son, giving him a belt of braided grass, instructing him in their secret code of fire-signals, and exchanging names with him. After this simple freemasonry he was one of the tribe, and could go anywhere with perfect safety.

The result of Mr. Kennett's intercourse with them was to restore a good understanding between the marines and the surrounding natives. The school was re-opened, and the blacks came in freely. Their constant migrations and tribal feuds were terrible interruptions; but even here Mr. Kennett's influence was felt. A feud had existed between the tribes of Mulgrave Island and Prince of Wales' Island for years; neither would ask for peace, although both desired it, and they seemed likely to exterminate each other like the Kilkenny cats in the fable; but Mr. Kennett was able to

play the part of a minister of peace and effect a reconciliation. In August, 1867, a great change befel the mission. Sir George Bowen had ceased to be Governor of Queensland. The Ministry had gone out, and was followed by one less enlightened and more bent on economy. The marines were withdrawn, and the settlement was left to six constables, a sergeant, and a squatter, who was made police magistrate. The new-comers, refusing to profit by the experience of their predecessors, only repeated their blunders and their cruelties. For the natives there was no redress, their word not being taken against the whites. The old ill-feeling between the two races was again engendered, and only suppressed by Mr. Kennett's influence. After being more than nine months without letters and without money, Mr. Kennett received a despatch from the Government, informing him that his stipend, which the former Ministry had guaranteed to him, would not be continued, and he had no alternative but to return to England. Thus the effort to evangelise the natives of North Australia has failed. Its commencement was retarded originally by the apathy of the Australian Church. Its progress was hindered by the lawless cruelty and wicked stupidity of British soldiers, and it finally collapsed through the parsimony of the colonial legislature. But, in spite of all these adverse circumstances, the common sense of one honest Christian schoolmaster did single-handed what the military and the civil magistrates failed to do, and proved conclusively that the despised aborigines of North Australia, to some of whom Mr. Kennett was indebted for the preservation of his life, are not the degraded creatures whose proper destiny is to be trapped or shot like vermin, but that they share with us the feelings of our common humanity, and are not less sensible of kindness than they are of wrong.

Do these poor creatures, or as many as are left, still

think of the white man who visited them, and who alone of his race showed them kindness? Would the reader like to hear something more of them and of their condition?—whether they have made peace with the policemen who still remained at the settlement, or have fallen before their rifles? One glimpse of them has been given to us. Since Mr. Kennett left, the Marquis de Beauvoir, in his travels round the world, has visited the remote settlement, and he records that here "he saw J——, twenty-four years of age, who had sixty-five notches on the stocks of two rifles, each notch representing a black whom he had shot." This fiend, in the form of that humanity which he disgraces, gloried in his murders, and with diabolic glee spoke of "tumbling over blacks like rabbits." When a civilised and Christian nation is thus represented in the remotest parts of the world, the spirit of every honest Englishman is roused with indignation, his cheek burns and his blood runs chill, and one is tempted to ask, "*Usque quo, Domine?*"

XXXIII.

It was in 1778 that Cook, when on his last voyage of discovery, sailed on until the 19th parallel of north latitude and there discovered "one of a group of eight islands, resting like a bunch of water-lilies on the bosom of the ocean." No European had ever sighted them before. The natives called the largest of them "Hawaii," and sometimes the whole group went by that name; but Cook gave to them the name of his patron, the Earl of Sandwich. The appliances of civilisation which an English sailor even then possessed, the size of his ships, the clothing which his sailors and himself wore, the guns which they fired, surrounded him in the estimation of the natives with the attributes of divinity, and he was treated with the most abject civility and consideration. This pleased him much, and in the following year he returned. There is too much ground for fearing that he in no degree repressed the homage that was offered to him, but that he even encouraged the belief that he was more than human. After a time disputes arose between the people and himself, and in a struggle he was killed in Kealakeakua Bay, which is now a station of the Church. Fourteen years later the island was visited by one of Cook's comrades, who was a wiser and better man than his captain; this was Vancouver. He had noticed on his previous visits that the islanders had no animals but pigs, dogs, and rats; he now brought them some sheep, six head of cattle, and some garden seeds. Knowing little of their language, he yet con-

trived to impart to them some idea of the Christian faith, and on his leaving they begged him to send them Christian teachers from England. Vancouver promised to make their wishes known, and he actually had an interview with Mr. Pitt in the following year and delivered the message. It needs only to recall the state of Europe and of England itself in that year, to be prepared for the statement that the petition was shelved. Statesmen had their hands full with the stirring events which were happening on the continent, neither was it a missionary age; indeed the religious feeling of the country was just then at zero, and the faithful few were devoting all their energies to the evangelisation of the Indians of America and the spread of the newly planted Churches on that continent, and so a great opportunity was lost.

Assuming that the 180th parallel of longitude divides the black from the copper-coloured oceanic tribes, the Hawaiians would rank as Polynesians; but there is good reason for thinking that these islands were the "centre from which there emanated the streams of population, which proceeding southward occupied the clustering islands commonly known as Polynesia Proper, and penetrated even to New Zealand."* Thus the mythic personage Maui, around whom the chief legends of New Zealand cluster, and who was supposed to have drawn up those islands from the depths of the ocean for his own special habitation, has given a name to one of the Sandwich group; but more remarkable still is the system or ordinance of *tapu* (*Anglicé*, taboo), which prevails from New Zealand in the south to Hawaii in the north, thus dominating over sixty degrees of latitude. In the island of Madagascar a similar institution prevails under the name of "*fady*." The etymology of the word is not easily arrived at: everything on which the "tapu" was laid by the priests was sacred and could not be touched without gross impiety.

* *Christ and other Masters*, vol. ii. p. 174.

The fact of eating anything that had come in contact with what was "tapu" was perilous in its consequences. Such a system of course conferred an immense power on those who wielded it, and on it the influence of the priests depended. The only salutary exercise of it which has been recorded, was limited to the cattle which Vancouver brought to the islands; whether by his suggestion or from the whim of the priests, these were all "tapu" for ten years, by which time they had increased rapidly, and the islands were abundantly supplied.

The religion which Vancouver found to exist among the people was of the most rigorous kind; their "gods many" inhabited the volcanoes, and were to be appeased only by human sacrifices. The "tapu" exercised arbitrarily, imposed on the people, periodically, the intense inaction and silence which are a caricature and exaggeration of ultra-sabbatarianism: no fire was lighted, nor food cooked; a strict fast was kept, which extended even to the domestic animals. It was to improve on this system that the king had asked for teachers from England. Intercourse with whalers and other ships had tended to open the native mind: so long ago as 1786, two Englishmen, John Young and Isaac Davis (of the former of whom more will be heard presently), had been taken prisoners by the king in revenge for a massacre; but they had been treated kindly by him, and had risen to be chiefs. In return for this treatment they, no doubt, had done something for the enlightenment of the king. The oppressions of the "tapu" must have made the natives envy their guests, who were under no such burthen, and seemed not to be punished for neglecting it; news too had come from Tahiti of the changes which the Presbyterian missions had wrought in those islands, and the king desired to learn more of the Supreme Being whom the foreigners worshipped; but his desire was not gratified, and in 1819

he died, if not a heathen, yet without having had an opportunity of embracing Christianity. On the accession of the young king the two dowager queens persuaded him to break through the rigorous system under which the women had groaned more than the men. On a state occasion a banquet was prepared in Hawaiian fashion at which the men were to sit at one table the women at another; the young king came in and took his place at the women's table; the chiefs followed his example; the heathen looked on in fear and trembling; but seeing no harm befall them, they declared the "tapu" to be at an end, and then throughout the islands there was a general and spontaneous demolition of the idols, in which the aged high-priest took part, although, in doing so, he abolished his own livelihood. 40,000 idols are supposed to have been destroyed in Hawaii in the course of a few days, and it must be remembered that up to this time no direct Christian teaching whatever had been delivered in the islands. In 1820, some Congregationalists came from America; the people were still waiting for the English teachers for whom they had asked, and the authorities had some hesitation about allowing this mission to be established. In 1822 three missionaries of the London Missionary Society came to Hawaii, and did much in the way of mastering the language, making grammars, vocabularies, and translations. King Kamehameha II. and his wife came to England in 1823, to see George IV., and very touching is their statement,—"Our former idolatrous system is abolished, and we wish the Protestant religion of your majesty's dominions to be practised here." Their visit was a disastrous one: the long voyage and our uncertain climate were too much for them, and they both died in London.

This miniature state has gone through all the political phases and changes which befall larger empires. Commencing with a feudal system and an absolute monarchy, it

has had its *coup d'etat*, its reform bills, its concessions to popular demands. In 1829, the year in which their restrictions were removed in England, Roman Catholics landed on the island, and through the influence of the Congregationalists, who have always mixed much in local politics, were ordered to re-embark, and it was not until 1839 that the visit of a French frigate secured toleration for the Roman mission, which now numbers one-third of the population as its converts.

In 1855 the king died, and was succeeded by his nephew, Kamehameha IV. This sovereign was an altogether remarkable man: he had had the advantage of visiting the United States, France, and England. John Young, the Englishman already mentioned, had married a native woman of rank, and their granddaughter became the Queen of Hawaii, familiar to us all as Queen Emma. She had received an English education and was in every way a help to her husband. The king's mind was of a class which is only occasionally met with, that has a natural aptitude for theology. He had studied the merits of various religious "systems:" The Presbyterians and the Romanists were at work in his dominions, and he could observe them daily, but he was not satisfied with them. He was married by a Congregationalist minister, but by his own request according to the liturgy of the English Church. In 1860 he requested formally that a bishop and clergy might be sent to his islands, thus repeating the petition made by his ancestor some seventy years before. He had already translated the Prayer-book, and had written a Preface commending it to his people, and stating the grounds of his own preferences. Bishop Staley arrived in Honolulu, which is on the island of Oahu, not the largest of the group, in September 1862. The establishment of the mission met with strong opposition; there was no precedent for the consecration in England

of a bishop for the dominions of a foreign sovereign: the theological animus displayed itself in protests against imaginary interference with the work of Protestant Dissenters; the political animus became prophetic, and saw in the Anglican mission only a scheme of the British Government (from whom its greatest hindrances had come) for the conversion of the Hawaiian kingdom into an English colony. These and many similar statements were published in the United States and Hawaii with a vigour and acerbity of which Trans-Atlantic newspapers enjoy a monopoly.

The mission met with misfortunes from the first: the American Church had always hoped to take an equal part in the work, and to contribute at the outset three clergy; but the commencement of the mission was almost contemporary with the civil war which rent America asunder, and amid the troubles and distress thus caused, neither men nor money could be expected; then on their arrival the bishop and clergy were met by the news that the young prince, the hope of the kingdom, had died. These were great troubles; but under all their sorrows the king and queen were always true to their promise to support the mission; they never relaxed in their efforts for the good of their people, and by precept and example seconded the efforts of the clergy. When on a journey, or at his country residence, this modern Charlemagne would, in the absence of the clergy, himself read the Offices of the Prayer-book for the benefit of his people and himself, and it must be borne in mind that he was no *dilettante* theologian, neither was theology his only study; he had comprehensive views on questions of government and commerce, was a steady reader of contemporary literature, and enjoyed Tennyson, Kingsley, and other writers of our times. The Church in Hawaii did not long benefit by the devoted services of this nursing father; he lived long enough to give proof of his simple piety and of his zeal.

Soon after the arrival of the bishop he and the queen were confirmed; a station was founded at Lahaina on the island of Maui; the native communicants formed themselves into a society, which pledged itself to seek candidates for baptism and for confirmation, to teach in the Sunday-schools, and to read portions of the Prayer-book in small gatherings of the people. The queen put herself at the head of other ladies, native and foreign, who undertook the duty of systematic district visiting. Often the king and queen stood together at the font as sponsors for children, for whose religious training they made themselves responsible; many couples who had lived in unblest wedlock were now united in holy matrimony. It was indeed a time of real and blessed progress: 300 baptisms took place before the bishop had been twelve months in the islands; schools were multiplied, and under the bishop's advice, a system of educational institutions was carried out in all the islands by the Government; but on St. Andrew's Day 1863, the good Kamehameha IV., almost without warning, entered into rest.

The death of the king was the signal for an outburst of malignant writing in the local papers: at one time it was declared that the mission was to be abandoned; at another, the whole scheme was denounced as a diplomatic *ruse* on the part of Great Britain. The new king, however, declared that he received the mission as a sacred legacy from his brother, and he has been consistently true to his promise to support it. Bishop Staley, spite of newspaper clamour, was cordially welcomed at the Convention of the Church of America, the Board of Missions guaranteeing half the stipends of two American clergymen; then Queen Emma visited England, and the "American Congregationalist Board of Missions" pointed out to Mr. Seward the political dangers which the visit of the widowed queen to our intriguing Court would bring about, and formal despatches

passed to and fro between the American minister in England and Mr. Seward on this momentous question. Thus it will be seen that the mission met with many difficulties: some of the clergy grew weary of their work in the face of so many obstacles, and returned to England; this gave some colour to the statement, industriously propagated, that the mission would be withdrawn; then funds began to fail. The great element of stability was the sisterhood which had gone out from England; the first detachment sailed in 1864, having halted on their way at Hursley, and received counsel and blessing from the revered author of the *Christian Year*. The previous missions, both Roman and Presbyterian, had failed to make much impression on the immorality of the native women, which was as low as could be conceived. In the islands of Oahu and Maui these English ladies have opened schools and homes, in which the young are trained to better things, and their elders are reclaimed.

In 1867 the bishop returned to England for the Lambeth Conference, after a five years' residence in the islands. Of the moneys originally promised little remained beyond the grant of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; some £400 per annum was subscribed every year in the islands, but the growing work demanded increased means. Much of the bounty of English friends had been diverted to the building a cathedral of a costly character, on which large sums had already been spent, and the walls of the choir some few feet high are still the only result. The bishop therefore conceived that he had no choice but to remain in England to collect more money. Our colonial prelates do not seem yet to have discovered that a bishop, absolutely at a standstill in the midst of his work for lack of means, would be the most powerful spur that could be applied to our lagging alms. Bishop Armstrong wrote truly some dozen years before:—

"It is among the evils of the day that unless missionary bishops or other missionary clergy speechify from one end of England to another, and live on platforms, little is effected."

Not thus does the Church of Rome work. (How disgraceful to us is this frequent antithesis!) "After a residence of thirty years the French Vicar Apostolic is supplied with ample funds from Lyons, not only for the maintenance of his priests and nuns, but for the erection of picturesque and neat stone churches, where Anglicans have only wooden church-schools."

In 1870 Bishop Staley, after having returned to the islands, resigned his see. The only member of the original mission party now in Honolulu is the Rev. George Mason. And so this mission is said to have failed! It has indeed failed to realise the anticipations of the over-sanguine, who, it must be added, enthusiastic at its outset, were among the first to desert it; but if to fail means to come short of pledges given, then its failure is only partial, for the mission never pledged itself to accomplish an unbroken success. It has survived its first decade, and it is to be hoped that its second decade will not be weighted with the many external causes of disaster which beset the first. There will be no civil war, let us hope, paralysing the resources of the American Church, who will now share the labours of the mother Church in Hawaii. The calumnies which have been circulated have been shown to be calumnies, and will now be powerless to injure the work; experience has been gained, and money will now be spent more judiciously than was possible at first. The Sisters' Schools have ever done admirable work, and from the boys' schools we may shortly hope to meet with suitable candidates for theological training and ultimately for ordination. The second bishop of Honolulu was consecrated on the Feast of the Purification,

1872, and very soon left for his diocese accompanied by several persons, lay and clerical, the majority of whom had been taught by him in his English parish.

If it be vouchsafed to Bishop Willis to repeat in Hawaii the good works which he accomplished in a strictly missionary sphere in England, the Anglican mission in Honolulu has a future that is full of hope. *Deus faxit!*

XXXIV.

The claim of Columbus to be the discoverer of America has not been allowed to go undisputed: there seems to be good ground for thinking that the eastern part of that continent was known to Greenlanders and the Northmen long before the Genoese sailor was born: the Mexicans have a tradition that they came from the north-west, and that their remote ancestors were white men; and there is a considerable probability that America was peopled from Europe by means of successive emigrations by the way of Behring's Straits, or by the chain of the Aleutian Islands, which form a line of natural stepping-stones between Asia and America; but it is not with the labours either of Columbus or of earlier discoverers that we are now concerned, but with the colonisation and evangelisation of that land, over the greater portion of which the Anglo-Saxon race has spread, and whose Church is the eldest daughter of our own Mother Church, and the living witness to the labours of our forefathers.

Looking back over the lapse of three centuries we are struck at once with the care for religion which was manifested by these hardy sailors, who were the pioneers of our colonisation: it was in the early days of the first Reformation age that Frobisher was accompanied in his expedition to find a north-west passage by "Master Wolfall," whose object was neither a geographical nor a commercial one:

he held a high position, being "Preacher to her Majesty's Council," and was "well-seated and settled at home, with a good and large living, having a good honest woman to wife, and very towardly children;" but he took part in the perils of this voyage of discovery, caring only "to save souls and to reform infidels to Christianity." In the records of the Arctic voyages of the present century there is no mention of a chaplain forming any part of those expeditions. To this man belongs the credit of offering the first religious service that was held on the continent. After a terrible battling with icebergs, in which one of the ships was lost, "Master Wolfall celebrated a Communion upon land, at the partaking whereof was the captain and many other gentlemen, soldiers, mariners, and miners with him." This celebration of the Divine mysteries was the first sign, seal, and confirmation of Christ's name, death, and passion, ever known in these quarters.

To Frobisher succeeded Gilbert and Raleigh, and amid all their failures, expedition after expedition being despatched and accomplishing nothing, it is very noteworthy that the conversion of the country was steadily kept before them, as being of at least equal importance with the development of its resources. The laymen who went out at the first were zealous in declaring "the contents of the Bible;" so much so, that in some instances they had difficulty in restraining the heathen from kissing and otherwise adoring the book itself. When Raleigh, his fortune all spent, sold his rights in Virginia to a company of merchants, true to the last to the principles which he had laid down, he gave £100 (no inconsiderable amount in the sixteenth century) for the purpose of planting the Christian religion in those parts. Virginia was fortunate in the men who were influential members of that company. There were among them Lord Delawarr, Whitaker, son of a Master of St. John's

College, Cambridge, Sandys, the pupil of Hooker, and the Saintly Nicholas Ferrar. In such hands the conversion of the people was at once aimed at. The baptism of Pocahontas, the daughter of a chief, although familiar to us all, loses none of its interest by its familiarity. When a rising on the part of the natives threatened the whole of the white population with death, the faith of *one* Indian convert, who gave notice of the conspiracy, was the reward as well as the token of their Christian zeal.

New England, which had received a settlement of Churchmen on the banks of the River Kenebec in 1607, became in 1620 the colony of the Pilgrim Fathers, whose feelings towards the Church were as bitter as they could be: ten years later Massachusetts was founded by Puritans, who at the time professed intense admiration and love for the Church, which they called "our dear mother, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom and sucked in from her breast." This was a remarkable manifesto from people who soon after established Puritanism by law, and tolerated none but their own most narrow creed. In 1632 Maryland was established by Romanists, who fled from the violence with which a rabble threatened them in England, but in the reign of William and Mary it became a Church of England colony; and in 1682 Penn and his followers founded the Quaker settlement of Pennsylvania. There came a dreary time of slothfulness and of frivolity, and it was not until the few earnest spirits which leavened the age in which they lived had taken counsel together, that any plans were formed for the prosecution of the work which had been foremost in the minds of Raleigh and the earlier colonisers of the new world. The Puritans had done nothing for the Indians; indeed these people, who had braved all the perils of the ocean, and the still greater perils

of an unknown country, in order to find a place in which to worship God according to their consciences, seem to have had no hesitation in treating the heathen not merely with indifference but with most rigorous cruelty. The power of the civil magistrate to enforce uniformity, which had been to them perfectly unbearable in England, became only the exercise of a godly zeal in a country in which they were the majority. Possessed with the firm belief that they were the chosen people, they regarded the country of their adoption as their promised land, and did not scruple to deal with the natives as in the Pentateuch the Israelites are recorded to have treated the inhabitants of Canaan. The Churchmen of Virginia had been missionaries from the first: the Pilgrim Fathers conceived themselves to be called to the duty of extirpating the paynim, "whom probably the devil decoyed hither in hopes that the Gospel would never come here to destroy or to disturb his absolute reign over them." In the Roman Catholic colony of Maryland, the governors were bound by an oath taken annually to secure full toleration to all Christian people. As soon as the Government was wrested from Lord Baltimore by the adherents of the Commonwealth, these fierce pretenders to religious liberty proscribed "popery and prelacy."

It was from England and from the most devout sons of her Church, whose names are still had in remembrance amongst us, that the first systematic attempts to convert the Indians came. The Hon. Robert Boyle, in 1661, offered to lead a company of Evangelists to New England, and one of the objects of the lectures which still bear his name, and for whose endowment he provided, was the perpetual enforcing of the duty of converting the heathen to the true faith.

By an order in council of Charles I., still unrepealed, all British subjects in foreign parts were placed under the care

of the Bishop of London. In 1685 the then Bishop of London sent a "Commissary" to Virginia, Dr. Blair: by him much good was effected, and arrangements were made for training English and native youths for the ministry. Soon afterwards Dr. Bray was sent as commissary to Maryland, and he raised the number of clergy from three to sixteen. Out of the representations of these good men there grew, in 1698, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and in 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. From 1702 the Church in America became the special field of work of this latter society; but neither commissaries nor associations can dispense the gifts of the episcopate, and for the boon of this office Churchmen, both in the colonies and in England, strove earnestly and met with the same treatment, which still so frequently befalls similar appeals in the present day. Churches remained unconsecrated, and generations of people were unconfirmed; the clergy were sent out from England, and numbers of country-born young men, who were otherwise willing and competent to offer themselves as candidates for ordination, were prevented doing so by consideration of the delay, risk, and cost (at least £100) of the requisite voyage to England. It is not generally known that from one of the non-juror bishops, Taylor, two missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sought and received consecration: these acts were strongly condemned, not on account of ecclesiastical irregularity, but as dangerous to the well-being of the throne. The concession, so earnestly sought for, seemed likely to have been made by Queen Anne: four bishoprics were to be founded, and arrangements had been made for the residence of the new prelates, but with the death of the queen the prospect was at an end.

Hitherto the profession of Churchmanship had been

considered identical with loyalty to the throne and to the person of the sovereign, and among the Nonconformists democratic principles were supposed to find their appropriate home; but by degrees the Churchmen of Virginia began to smart and to falter in their loyalty under the continual tyranny of the ministry for the time, and to regard the episcopate as a right which they would demand, rather than a concession which they were content to seek. The clergy stood loyal to the throne, but the leader of the revolutionary war was a zealous Churchman. The clergy had sworn allegiance to the English sovereign, and conceived that without perjury they could not join in the insurrection; and many were the trials to which they were subjected in consequence. Mr. Inglis, afterwards the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, was in charge of the principal church in New York. Notice was sent to him that General Washington would attend his church if only the obnoxious prayers for the king were omitted; but he paid no regard to the message, and became a marked man. Violent abuse was heaped on him as he walked along the streets, and threats were freely used to prevent him praying for the king. More than one hundred armed men entered his church with drums beating and flags flying. It was supposed that if the king were prayed for, Mr. Inglis would be shot; but he went through the service as though nothing unusual had happened, and the soldiers contented themselves with drowning his voice when the objectionable collect was read. Another confessor was Mr. Beach, who, when warned of his danger, declared that he "would do his duty and pray for his king, till the rebels cut out his tongue."

A blow befel the Church about this time, and that from within. The Wesleyan connection had been at first an association within the Church, and some of the most pious of the clergy had favoured it. During the revolutionary

war discipline had been openly neglected, and some of the Methodist "Exhorters" had assumed clerical functions, but had been restrained. Now, however, John Wesley, at the age of eighty-two, so far contradicted the teaching of his life as to lay hands, in 1784, on a person called Coke, who then returned to America, and created an open schism. Wesley's plea for this conduct was that there were no bishops with legal jurisdiction in America.

In 1783 thirteen states ceased to be dependencies of Great Britain. The declaration had been published in 1776. A seven years' war had left the Church waste and almost destroyed. In Philadelphia, a Rev. Dr. White, who had joined the insurgents on conviction, and who had Washington himself as a member of his congregation, set to work to rally the scattered Churches. Seven of the states joined in a convention, drew up an amended Liturgy, and petitioned the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate such persons as they might present to him for the office of a bishop. But another of the states, Connecticut, had already acted for itself, and with more promptitude than perhaps was possible to an aggregate of states. The clergy met in convention as soon as peace was proclaimed, and before the troops had embarked Samuel Seabury was on his way to England, elected Bishop of Connecticut by the clergy, and seeking consecration. This the English bishops were afraid to confer, lest they should displease the king and the Government, so intimately had the Church come to be connected with, and even to be regarded as a department of, the State. The bishops of Scotland had no such scruples; they were disestablished and disendowed; there was no one to interfere with them in the discharge of their spiritual functions. Poor, indeed, they were, and despised; but they had it in their power to confer on the Church of America the boon for which it had been vainly seeking for more than

a century; and on November 14th, 1784, Dr. Seabury was consecrated at Aberdeen. This cut the knot, as a bold policy is apt to do, which wise and good men had been ineffectually trying to untie; and in 1787 Dr. White and Dr. Provoost were consecrated in Lambeth Chapel Bishops of Pennsylvania and New York respectively. Thus America possessed now three bishops, and from this parent stock the episcopate has grown as occasion has required, until there are now fifty-three bishops and more than 2,500 clergy on the rolls of the Church of the United States. The name of Seabury will always be held dear by every American Churchman. The mitre which he wore—certainly a far more suitable head-dress than the wig which our bishops have abandoned only within the memory of the present generation—is preserved, an honoured relic, in the library of Trinity College, New York, having been placed there by Bishop Cleveland Coxe, who has commemorated it by one of his charming "Christian Ballads."

The progress of the Church of the United States has been indeed remarkable. It has had to contend with many difficulties inherent in the institutions of the country. The question of slavery has presented to it problems hardly less ready of solution than those connected with caste in India. The same question, and the prejudices on the matter of race and colour which grow out of it, have prevented the Church from freely drawing into the ranks of its ministry the best of her sons, irrespective of race. Still recently the unhappy civil war crippled her resources and threatened an open schism. In the towns the Church is the religion of the educated and the thoughtful; it provides the Conservative element of the general population, and the meetings of its triennial convention are considered events of sufficient importance to be chronicled in even the most secular newspapers. It has not in the centres of trade and of civilisa-

tion discharged until recently that foremost duty of every Church, the preaching the Gospel to the poor; indeed, the varied forms in which religion of some sort or other is offered to the masses in America, accompanied by violent excitement and mixed strongly with political considerations, are altogether at variance with the sober devotion of our Liturgy, which cannot compete with such attractions. The congregationalism of the American Church, which tends to make the clergy the slave of their people, and which tempts the ministers of God to become pleasers of men rather than stern proclaimers of Divine truth, is an evil which cannot be exaggerated; but the freedom of corporate action which this Church possesses enables her to enter on her mission-work in those vast tracts on her own continent, which are to our American brethren what the colonies are to England, with a promptitude and with a completeness of organisation which are legitimate objects of envy to ourselves. No nobler work has ever been done than is to be found in the records and journals of the missionary bishops whom the American Convention has sent to the far West, where in the dioceses of Nebraska, Dacotah, and Minnesota, there are 285,000 Indians, who are now treated by the Government with more wisdom than was bestowed on their forefathers. The tide of evangelisation has kept pace with—in some cases has anticipated—the tide of emigration, and the missions of this Church extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In districts so new that their very names sound uncouth and strange in English ears, and so vast that our minds refuse to realise their extent, the bishops of the American Church have boldly gone in advance of civilisation and of trade, and living among lumberers, miners, sawyers, and all the hardy but uneducated fellows who do the rough work of pioneering, have taken possession of the new country in the name of God, before it has become a stronghold of evil. It

would be difficult to imagine a more arduous field of work than that of Bishop Tuttle, who has pitched his camp in Utah, in the very midst of the Mormonites, where there are some 50,000 persons taken captive by that abominable imposture. At first his very life was in peril, but this did not move him; he went from house to house, and found many persons longing to be quit of the bondage under which they were groaning. Of these there were many hundreds of English folk, who had been baptized in our churches and taught in our village schools, but who had become victims of the delusion, and had been lured away to "the city of the saints," from which they desired now, above all things, to escape.

The dioceses of these missionary bishops join in many cases the borders of the Canadian dioceses; and although the several bishops are far apart, they have the comfort of taking counsel together from time to time. Nothing can exceed the warmth of cordial sympathy which exists between the bishops of the sister Churches. They have frequently been present at each others synods, and the consecration of a new bishop in the one church is almost always attended by a prelate of the other. The cordiality so often manifested reached its height at the Convention of 1871, when the Bishop of Lichfield, the Bishop of Nassau, aud several English clergymen, attended by special invitation, and were received with the deepest enthusiasm, which has since assumed a tangible shape in the alms-dish presented by the daughter to the mother Church.

The foreign missions of the American Church in China and in Western Africa have been mentioned more than once or twice in these pages, and need not be again alluded to. Other missions, less complete in their organisation, are sent to Greece and Hayti. If they seem to be few in number and limited in area, it must be remembered

that the vast extent of country in the Western States is the natural mission-field of the American Church, that in those states the very foundations and framework of the Church have had to be provided, and in a brief time, in order to meet the rapidly-increasing influx of settlers. The four millions of free coloured people in the Southern States have also claimed and received much care from the Church.

To those who worship majorities the Church of the United States, which holds the fifth place in respect of the number of its adherents among the religions of the country, will seem to be a less important institution than the four which stand above it. Into this question it is not necessary to enter. Many circumstances prove that both the Church and its ministers and doctrines have a real hold on the affections of its members. Few who had the privilege of meeting them can have forgotten the bearing of the American bishops who attended the Lambeth Conference in 1867. While that remarkable gathering, so auspicious in itself, so fruitful in results, which many have not yet the foresight to discern, was ridiculed and vilipended in England, in the United States it was regarded as the most hopeful thing that had befallen the Anglican communion since the Reformation. The bishops were speeded on their way by the prayers of their people; farewell addresses were presented to them, and they were welcomed on their return with Te Deums and Communions. More than this, the expenses of their voyage to and from England were, in the majority of cases, borne by their people, who thus felt themselves to be represented at Lambeth in the persons of their spiritual fathers. And worthy representatives were they. Their calm and dignified bearing, combined with singular absence of all conventionality, struck every one. In learning, argument, eloquence, they were at least the

equals of their brethren, and they were admitted to have contributed much to the debates of that reverend body. Many of these bishops had never seen England before, but they stayed only a short time among us. One of them was in England only a fortnight, giving the writer of these lines the following reason for his speedy return :—"The yellow fever is active in my diocese just now, and I must be active too."

With the intense interest and reverence which an educated American feels for everything English, these bishops did not allow their enthusiasm to blind their judgment. They reviewed our ecclesiastical system calmly and candidly, and the result in all cases was that they returned home more than content with their own position. The state of things which may satisfy many in an old country appeared ponderous, unelastic, and formal to the bishop of a free Church in a Republic not yet a century old. One of the most cultivated of these bishops was for some days the honoured guest of one of the most cultivated of English dignitaries. He saw everything that could be seen in a cathedral city of great historic interest, and he appreciated all he saw; but through, and above, and under all there was something missing to the man whose life had been spent in a western state, where the ceremonies of life are few. On leaving he gave his host a cordial invitation to visit him in America, and told him he would find in his diocese what would do him good; for, said he, "what you want, sir, in your old cathedral cities here is an infusion of good honest barbarism, and 3,000 miles in my gig with me would do you a great deal of good."

The Church has work for all the various talents with which men are endowed. Without wishing for the introduction of Republican freedom into our chapters and cathedrals, we may be thankful that in the far West there are

found men of great learning and piety, and yet possessing those special gifts which enable them to commend their office and their message to the manifold tribes of men who are making their homes in the wilderness, and covering it with cities and towns, and stocking it with all the fruits of industry and civilisation.

XXXV.

The Church's work in British North America has long ceased to be surrounded with much romance or peril. There will always be the inconvenience of an extreme but not unhealthy climate, and there seems no probability of that happy time coming when religious strife and disunion will cease to vex men's souls: for in America the diversities of creed and practice are almost incredible. The Church has been unable, especially in earlier days, to keep pace with the population, and to occupy adequately so vast a territory; discipline, therefore, has been neglected, the education of the masses has been imperfect and irreligious, and the result is seen in a variety of sects whose very names are unfamiliar to English ears. But, spite of these drawbacks, the work of a clergyman in the more settled parts of North America is analogous to that of his brethren in England, with this difference, that his population will probably be much more scattered, and the area over which his ministrations extend will be equal to that of a dozen of the largest English parishes.

In 1787, the year which witnessed the consecration of Bishops White and Provoost, British North America received its first bishop. This was Bishop Inglis, who, as was mentioned in a previous paper, witnessed a bold confession in New York, when forbidden to pray for the king. At that time the diocese included all the English possessions in America, but the jurisdiction of Bishop Inglis over the

remoter portions of them must have been nominal. Newfoundland he never was able to visit, although clergy had been labouring there for more than three quarters of a century. The Canadian clergy were summoned to the visitation of the bishop in 1789, and in 1793 Canada was formed into a bishopric, and Dr. Jacob Mountain, a name ever since intimately connected with the Dominion, was consecrated to be the first occupant of the see. Nova Scotia was again subdivided in 1839, when Newfoundland became a separate see, and yet again in 1845 by the foundation of the See of Fredericton. The old Diocese of Quebec has been divided from time to time. In 1839 the Diocese of Toronto was formed, from which, in 1857 and 1861, the Sees of Huron and Ontario respectively were taken, as the rapid increase of the immigrant population made more supervision necessary, and at the present time another see, that of Algoma, is about to be formed on the northern side of the chain of lakes, where there are many thousands of Indians still to be found, who have been driven northward year by year as the white races have advanced. In 1850 the Diocese of Montreal was formed, and it is now the metropolitical see of Canada. Far to the west, the territories so long occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company were formed into the huge Diocese of Rupert's Land in 1849, and ten years later the youngest of England's colonies, British Columbia, was made a bishopric almost at the same time that it was raised to the dignity of a colony.

In the roll of the Canadian bishops there are many honoured names, and the record of their services proves them to have been men of the highest gifts and graces. In the early years of the present century, the backwoods of North America presented a field of missionary enterprise tempting to the brave spirits who wished to go forth into the moral wilderness and endure hardness as good soldiers.

Among the earlier bishops and clergy the feeling of loyalty to the throne was largely mixed with devotion to God and love of souls; loyalty and religion seemed to those good men to be convertible terms. Thousands of refugees, fleeing with horror from the republican institutions of the independent states, found a resting-place over the English border, where they could worship God under the protection of a monarchical government, and in a Church which had the most intimate relations with that government. It was a natural and an honourable feeling. The doctrine of the Divine right of kings was firmly held, and its power was much strengthened by the violence and wickedness of many who had trampled it under their feet. We of the present generation have lived and learned that, whatever the temporal blessing of the monarchy, the Church of Christ and the spread of the Gospel are not incompatible with a republican form of government, and that the churches which have lost the protection and assistance of the temporal power, have found more than an equivalent for it in the greater freedom of action and power of extension which they possess. But what is good in one age is not always expedient in another.

The Churchmen in British North America, who regarded loyalty to their sovereign and the existing government as a paramount duty, and as a virtue which could not be practised outside the Church's pale, found that that virtue did not go unrewarded, for they were used as a barrier to fence off the revolutionary principles that raged over the American border, and favours were heaped upon them in recognition of their loyalty and their example. It seems strange in these days to read of a king of England building a cathedral in a colonial city on the representation of its bishop: yet this was done by "the bounty of George III." in Quebec in 1804, and the church was made by letters

patent from the Crown the cathedral church of the diocese. Good Bishop Mountain, however, was not content with having obtained the erection of a cathedral. It is the great work of the first occupant of a see to bring order out of confusion, to introduce, perhaps only in outline, the system of the Church, and to lay the foundations in such wise that after generations shall not be obliged to alter them, but shall only have to build upon them; and so in the new cathedral which the bounty of the good king had built, the bishop introduced Christian worship in its highest type. The first organ ever heard in Canada was brought from England and erected in Quebec Cathedral, and choral services were introduced by Bishop Mountain nearly seventy years ago.

It was while the bravest spirits in our country were offering themselves to the service of that country, and were bearing arms in the battle-fields of Europe, that one member of a noble house volunteered for the service of the Church in her most distant and arduous posts. This was the Hon. Charles James Stewart, fifth son of the Earl of Galloway. Educated at Corpus Christi College, he obtained a fellowship at All Souls', and thence had taken a benefice in Huntingdonshire: but he felt himself called on to undertake more arduous work, and specially he desired (like Mackenzie some fifty years later) to fill some post for which no one else seemed likely to volunteer. At first his thoughts were turned to India, but hearing of the great need of clergy in Canada, he determined that that should be the scene of his labours. He sailed in 1807, and soon was stationed at St. Armand, some seventy miles from Montreal, on the frontier between the United States and Canada. There was no church, no school, no parsonage,—it might be added, no religion. A clergyman had resided there for some years, but, failing to impress the people, he had left with his spirits broken. Mr. Stewart arrived on a Saturday, and hired a

room in the inn for service the next day. The landlord tried to dissuade him, and warned him not only that no persons would come, but that the attempt might lead to some inconvenience and risk to himself. "Then here is the place of duty for me," was the brave reply. In that unpromising place he remained; after a month the services were held under a more suitable roof than that of a tavern; in the following year a church was built, and sixty persons were confirmed. In this district Mr. Stewart laboured, living in a single room in a farm-house, boarding with the family of the farmer, and removed from all communication with the educated society to which he had been accustomed until 1817, when the bishop moved him to another district which required the same evangelising zeal and constructive energy which had changed St. Armand from a godless settlement to a Christian parish. In 1819 he received what with great simplicity he called his "advancement" to the post of a travelling missionary, and in this capacity he visited the most remote parts of this vast diocese, until, in 1826, he was called to succeed Bishop Mountain as its chief pastor, with the unanimous approbation of all. Bishop Stewart's character was not of a class which we should expect to meet with in the days in which he lived: simple as a child, devout and studious, he avoided all excitement both in his personal religion and in his public ministrations. In an age when asceticism was not regarded by the English Church as any part of Christian discipline, he led the life of an ascetic, probably without realising the fact that his doing so was singular. Luxuries, whether in food or in furniture, were never to be found in the rough Canadian farm-house which sheltered him; but such comforts as were available he eschewed; on Fridays his single meal was a dish of potatoes, and he observed the other fasts of the Church rigidly. Neither did he alter his manner of life when he became a

bishop, and, after an episcopate of ten years, it was discovered that he had died entirely without means: he had not only saved nothing from his income, but all his private property had long since been given to the Church and to the poor.

Another Scotchman, who was destined to become a great power in Canada, had settled in the colony even before Bishop Stewart. John Strachan had no aristocratic birth nor connections; he was a student of St. Andrew's, and when quite a young man, in 1799, had been enticed out to Canada by a promise on the part of the Governor of an allowance as master of a school at Kingston. On his arrival he learned, what many have learned before and since, that the promises of ministers and governments are not to be trusted. There had been a change of governors, and the new governor had no desire to carry out the policy of his predecessor; the promised allowance, therefore, vanished into thin air. Mr. Strachan was disappointed, but he opened a school on his own account, and was the first to introduce into Canada a classical and mathematical education. In 1803 he was ordained for the mission at Cornwall, where he remained nine years, and then moved to Toronto, where he was rector of the parish, military chaplain, and master of a grammar school. In 1823 he was made Archdeacon of York, and his functions in that capacity could more easily be defined than has sometimes been supposed possible. He travelled east and west through the whole of his archdeaconry, often on foot; his fare was the coarsest, and his lodging was in keeping with his food. He found about forty clergy ministering to a widely-scattered population of 187,000. Everywhere his visits were received with joy, but often with surprise that a clergyman had found his way to such outlandish parts. In 1832 and 1834 the cholera raged frightfully in Toronto, and Archdeacon Strachan headed the clergy in their labours of

love, and by his fearless attendance on the sick and dying won the hearts of all classes. In 1839 the See of Toronto was formed, and with the approbation of the whole diocese, Archdeacon Strachan became the first bishop. In this high position he continued until his death, in 1867, combining to the last, with wonderful simplicity of character, all the outward dignity which, as he conceived, was due to his high position.

The experience gained in his visitation tours as archdeacon had shown him the necessity of raising up a due supply of well-educated clergy. In 1842 a theological college was opened at Coburg for the training of candidates for Holy Orders. In 1843 the University of King's College, Toronto, began to receive students; in six years its numbers were more than a hundred, and then the Colonial Legislature abolished all religious observances, and suppressed the faculty of theology. Bishop Strachan protested with all his might against the change, but without effect. Defeated, but not disheartened, the brave old man came to England and appealed for help. Having raised £10,000 in this country, he raised more than £25,000 in Canada, and in 1852 Trinity College opened its doors, and has continued to train the future clergy of Canada in the Catholic faith.

In 1845 and 1850 Bishops Medley and Fulford became the first Bishops of Fredericton and Montreal respectively. Both of them Oxford Fellows, in the best days of that University, with ripe experience as parish priests, they were types of a school which, it is to be hoped, will always be largely represented in the Church. In addition to their theological learning they were men of much general cultivation: in a young colony, and in the society which is found in a primitive settlement, such men are of great use: their refining influences are felt to the advantage of the people generally. Both of these bishops have built

cathedrals which will compare with the churches of England, and have succeeded in giving to the ritual of their dioceses a beauty and a correctness which, in a pushing colony, are not always aimed at.

The Church of Canada has been much troubled at times by the action of the State. At one time it received large assistance from it. Thus in Nova Scotia, King's College, at Windsor, was founded by George III., and drew for some years £1,000 per annum from the English Government, in recognition of the fact that it trained young men in loyalty as well as in sound religion. In 1791, lands known as the Clergy Reserves were set apart by Act of Parliament "for the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy." For nearly half a century these lands lay waste; settlers had cultivated up to and around them, and their waste condition was declared to be a drawback to the welfare of the colony. Their value, although uncultivated, had increased with the general advance of the country, and the claim of the clergy was disputed. The term "Protestant clergy" proved a source of debate; the Presbyterian ministers were Protestants, and as the Kirk is established in Scotland, they claimed a share. For the sake of peace their demand was acceded to; but after another ten years other claimants entered the field, and in 1854 the whole of the lands were devoted to education and secular purposes, the life interests of the clergy being amply provided for, and by a system of commutation the Church received a large sum of ready money. These severe lessons taught the Canadians no longer to lean on the broken reed of State help; free from the gifts, the Church became also free from the interference of the State, and none of the present generation of Churchmen look wistfully back to a byegone system. Synods are now in full work in all the Canadian dioceses. In Toronto, the first function of the synod was to divide the diocese. In

the western portion, which is the great resort of English and Irish emigrants, an increase of the episcopate was absolutely required, and Bishop Cronyn was elected to the new See of Huron. Even then it was necessary to apply for letters patent, and the new bishop had to be consecrated in England under royal mandate. Not until 1861 did the Canadian churches attain perfect liberty, when Bishop Lewis, elected to the new See of Ontario, a portion of the original Diocese of Toronto, was consecrated in Canada by Canadian bishops, the first bishop of the Anglican communion ever set apart for that office on the soil of British North America.

While vast tracts of fertile but uncultivated land continue to attract thousands of emigrants from the mother country to Western Canada, it is only just that the mother Church should contribute towards the cost of surrounding them with the ministrations of religion. In the wilder parts, where the English already settled are but a small minority in the midst of a Roman Catholic majority, such help may yet continue to be extended; but in Canada generally the Church ought now to be independent both in temporal and spiritual matters. With her Theological Colleges at Windsor, at Lennoxville, and at Toronto, a clergy is being trained from among her own sons, equal in all respects to any who would be likely to be sent from England. Her synods are now competent to legislate in all matters which concern her welfare, and her great danger lies in a desire—too evident on the part of some—to narrow her theology and to repress zeal at the dictation of ignorant and fanatical partisans. In a country overrun with "isms" of every kind, the duty of contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints becomes more than ever apparent if the morality of the people is to be maintained, and the proper position and influence of God's ordained ministers are to be preserved.

A Canadian parson is never likely to be a wealthy man:

but if the Church has not many 'prizes' to offer to its clergy, it has few blanks. Year by year the missions are becoming smaller in area, and the labours of travelling become lighter, specially as the means of locomotion are increased; the climate, with its extremes of heat and cold, is nevertheless healthy, and the extreme isolation, which was the lot of the pioneers of the Gospel, does not befall the clergy in the rapidly-growing townships. In fact, the work has now passed out of the heroic stage, and is rapidly descending to the level of common-place, if, indeed, any spiritual labours can be so called. These remarks do not apply to the Diocese of Newfoundland, and to the remoter parts of Quebec. In Rupert's Land and in some parts of Columbia the missionary has still to live in the wilderness under conditions of the greatest hardship, but these must be treated in another paper. The increasing order and civilisation which we witness in the older dioceses must not make us forget the self-denying toil of the labourers who have long since gone to their reward, and who laid the foundation of that in which we now rejoice.

XXXVI.

ALTHOUGH the results of the intercourse of white men with the Indians of North America are not creditable to the former, the tales of absolute cruelty and slaughter, which are too true when told of our settlers in Australia, are not of frequent occurrence in the records of our American colonisation. That the vices of the adventurous settlers, who strike out fields of enterprise for themselves far beyond the habitations of civilised communities, and consequently beyond the reach of wholesome public opinion, will ever add to the degradation of the savage and harden him against the Gospel, is too probable. The oaths which fall from the white man's lips are often the first lessons which the Pagan receives in the English tongue; and in the conduct of the white man, whose possessions, whose arms, whose clothes, and other treasures, have already made him a demi-god in his eyes, there is little or nothing which he can profitably copy. Probably this is inevitable: the neutral ground on which the two races meet has been well compared to the "ravelled edge of the social fabric," where the vices of both civilisation and barbarism are seen, but the virtues of neither. The only simplifier of these and all other enigmas of our life is religion. In the minds of the earlier settlers of America this, as we have already seen, was ever prominent. Sir Walter Raleigh, out of the remnant of his fortune, gave £100 for the spread of the Gospel; the saintly Nicholas Ferrar, with far-seeing wisdom, looked to the raising up of

an indigenous ministry, and gave £300 for the maintenance and education of three Virginian children in Bermuda, who should be sent back, if qualified, to convert their brethren. Cromwell gave, and Charles II. renewed, a charter to the New England Society, among whose missionaries was John Eliot, the Apostle of the Red Indians: the labours of this zealous man built up many congregations of Christian Indians, but at his death there was none to succeed him, and his converts dwindled away. America, therefore, has been fortunate, by comparison with other countries, in that from the first some heed has been paid to the claims of the heathen. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, from the date of the arrival of its first missionary in 1704, was careful to bestow attention on the Indians in Carolina: John Wesley while in Georgia tried to convert the heathens; but the colonists grudged their clergy diverting any portion of their time and services to the natives, and this selfish conduct has been repeated over and over again in every colony: therefore, in 1810, the Society sent itinerating missionaries, whose whole energies were devoted to the care of the heathen.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the Mohawks and the Oneidas fought well side by side with the British troops against the French, and again they sided with the loyalists in the war of independence, so that on peace being proclaimed they moved, together with the other loyalists, and settled in Canada. These must have been an intelligent people, under good discipline and well drilled: they were also Christians, and as such testified to the labours of the clergy; they had received from Queen Anne, who was interested in the story of their conversion, a set of gold altar vessels and a "fair linen cloth" "beautifully inwrought with devices emblematical of the rank of the royal donor," such was the taste of those now distant times: these trea-

sures they buried in the ground during the war, lest the hostile troops should seize them: the consequence was that the cloth became rotten and useless, but the communion plate they brought with them to their settlement on the Bay of Quinta, where they built a church, to which George III. gave an "altar-piece with the creed and ten commandments in the Mohawk language, and a loud-sounding bell." This church was not consecrated until 1830, when Bishop Stewart visited them. In 1842 Bishop Strachan found them an educated prosperous community, with good farms, the church and schools filled, and nearly every one of them able to read.

In 1835 Sir John Colborne, afterwards Lord Seaton, who was at that time Governor of Canada, adopted a scheme which was proposed to him for collecting the Indians of the province on one of the many islands that stud the northern shore of Lake Huron. A tour was made by some friends of the red men along the string of lakes, and the proposal was cordially received by the Indians. A settlement had long before been formed at Sault St. Marie, where the waters of Lake Superior fall into Lake Huron: a change of governors had disconcerted the labours of its promoters, and had also aroused the suspicions of the natives; but another change of government and much zeal on the part of the clergy had overcome to some extent these difficulties. After a time, however, the missionary had to leave and his place was not supplied: the Indians long waited for the "black coat" who was promised to them, but they waited in vain: very pathetic was their own account of their distress and their patience: "We assembled," they said, "every Sunday and prayed the Great Spirit to look down upon us with an eye of pity, and to send some one to instruct us." After waiting nine years they moved to Garden River, for the sake of the mission which had been

formed there: meanwhile a better organised mission had been established under the auspices of the governor at Manitoulin Island, which is some ninety miles in length, and varies in breadth from two to thirty miles. The Ottawas and Ojibways, tribes of one common nation and speaking dialects of a common tongue, settled here to the number of between 2,000 and 3,000—a sad falling off from the hosts that once inhabited these woods and fished in these lakes. The large majority of these were heathen, but they were loyal to the Crown which secured to them protection, and in the disturbances of 1837 five hundred Indians fully armed offered themselves to the governor for military service.

From time to time Bishop Strachan visited these missions, in which he never ceased to take a warm interest. Every visitation was made with less difficulty than the preceding one, as roads were formed and the country came under cultivation, but to the last the bishop's travels were tedious affairs. On one occasion he wrote,—"I found the roads in many places dangerous and almost impracticable. A rough strong waggon is the only vehicle that dares attempt them, and even that occasionally breaks down; and to be prepared for such accidents we carry with us an axe, a hammer, nails, ropes, &c. Sometimes we scarcely make a mile per hour through the fallen trees, roots, and mud-holes that lie in our way; nor is such travelling cheap; and as for the accommodation, it is painfully unpleasant. I say nothing of the fatigue of these journeys, the deep mud-holes, the fallen trees to be cut out of the path, the jolting on the log carriages, exposure for months to a summer Canadian sun and the autumn rains, because these are all incident to the discharge of duty and not a proper subject of dissatisfaction or complaint."

Thus the Indians were civilised, and by twos and threes

were brought into the Christian fold: correct ideas were formed about marriage; a strong desire was manifested to have their children educated, to raise the condition of their women, to abjure idolatry, false prophets, and the medicine bag, and a growing sense of the sin of murder, enmity, and revenge became evident. The great hindrance to their progress was the intercourse with the whites. Very touching is the description of the chieftain explaining to the English settlers his desire of living at peace with them, but entreating them not to bring ardent spirits for barter among his tribes; they could not resist the temptation, although they knew that it was death to them. The remnants of this magnificent race, who have retreated before the white man, will now have the special care of a new Bishop of Algoma, whose diocese will contain all the settlements which are in possession of the Indians.

Another "Indian Reserve" has been formed on Walpole Island, on Lake St. Clair, the small lake which lies between Lakes Huron and Erie. Here, about thirty years ago, the Rev. Andrew Jamieson established himself among a population of some 1,000 souls, belonging to the Ojibway, Pottowatomie, and Ottawa tribes. Nothing could be more miserable than the condition of the people—ignorant, dirty, and wedded to the superstitions of their race. Laziness had been elevated to the level of a duty, and they seemed even to be devoid of any curiosity in religious matters. Mr. Jamieson would enter the building which he used as a church, but not a soul would come even from the lower motive of curiosity. As they would not come to him, the missionary determined to go to them: he visited them in their camps and wigwams; paid them the compliment of formally calling on them, and these courtesies the Indians, who by nature are polite, returned. Conversations led the way to teaching, and at the end of a year Mr. Jamieson

baptized two Indians, one of whom was a man of considerable influence among his tribe.

On these visitations Mr. Jamieson, who was able to enter into the customs and habits of thought of his people, used to send notice of his coming to the chief. At the appointed time, attended by the interpreter, he would enter the large wigwam, where the elders would be solemnly seated, and according to Indian custom he would make presents of tobacco all round. If English readers object to the picture of a congregation of smokers thus preparing themselves for the reception of Divine wisdom, let them remember that this was the readiest means of bringing the message to their hearts. It was on one of these occasions, when Mr. Jamieson after long speaking had paused to give the Indians an opportunity of asking questions, that one of the chiefs, laying his pipe slowly on the ground, said, "Brother, what you have told us is good news; in truth the very best news I ever heard." That man has since proved to be an exemplary Christian, and of great use in recommending the Gospel to his friends and relatives.

In time Mr. Jamieson mastered the language, whose words are more than "*sesquipedalia*," and among a suspicious people, who ever doubted the integrity of the interpreter, this gave him great power: mind now came in contact with mind, and heart with heart; the people told him their secrets, and he began to learn much of their inner history, their superstitions, their folk-lore. He describes his gratitude when standing outside an Indian wigwam early one morning, he overheard a native convert praying in a strain of chastened devotion for himself and family, for his neighbours, and for the missionary. "At that moment," says Mr. Jamieson, "I was overpowered and would not have exchanged places with the richest and proudest peer in England!"

The result of Mr. Jamieson's labours of thirty years is, that the Indian colony is now Christian; the houses are better built and are kept clean and tidy; the farming is not now limited to a few patches of Indian corn, but has become an occupation and a science; the people are no longer dependent on fishing and the chase, and instead of spears and other weapons they have ploughs, oxen, and fairly good implements of husbandry. They now contract Christian marriages, and polygamy is a bygone thing; their retentive memories supply them with a never-failing store of hymns and portions of the Gospel narrative; many of them are very useful as catechists; their knowledge of Scripture is considerable, and at times they say things which prove them to have a real grasp of the mysteries with which theology deals. Thus, one of them addressing his friends on the character of our blessed Lord, spoke as follows (his words were taken down by the missionary):—

"What, my brethren, are the views you form of the character of Jesus? You will answer, perhaps, that He was a man of wonderful benevolence. You will tell me that He showed Himself to be so by the kind of miracles which He wrought. All these, you say, were kind in the extreme. He created bread to feed thousands who were ready to perish; He raised to life the son of a poor woman who was a widow, and to whom his labours were necessary for her support in her old age. Are these, then, your only views of Jesus? I tell you they are lame. *When Jesus came into the world He threw His blanket around Him, but the God was within!*"

A learned divine might have expressed in language more theological, but hardly more forcible, the mystery of "The Word," which tabernacled among us. There are among the learned and inquisitive Hindus not a few who condescend to admire the human character of our Lord: at

this stage the Brahmo Somaj have arrived, and to this point many among ourselves, trained to better things, have come down; but they have alike failed to realise the cardinal truth, so firmly held, so forcibly illustrated by the Red Indian, that over and above, and altogether independent of the many beautiful qualities wherein our Lord was our example, "the God was within."

XXXVII.

If one were asked in what portion of the world the conditions under which missionary work is carried on are the hardest, the answer would probably be given without any hesitation. In Newfoundland all circumstances seem to combine to make the work of the clergy irksome and difficult to men actuated by any but the highest motives. The missionary to the heathen has his trials—how great is known only to God and to himself; but if he be a man of intelligence as well as of zeal, his daily toil is lightened as he acquires a fuller knowledge of a noble language, studies the system of an ancient and complicated superstition, and finds his way into the history and folk-lore of the people among whom he lives; he is shocked at their idolatry, their barbarism, their lack of natural feelings, but he reflects that their ancestors have been for generations held in the same bondage, and he is cheered by the conviction that his message is contributing its quota to the ultimate overthrow of the miserable superstitions which he beholds; it may be—for human nature asserts itself in the highest and best of our undertakings—that he is supported by the not unworthy thought that he is in the forefront of the fight between light and darkness, and so is occupying a post of special peril and of honour: he may have to live in an unhealthy climate, with few colleagues and remote from congenial society, yet he is not utterly out of the world; mails reach even to his mission-house with tolerable regularity, and news from home,

with the budget of papers, reviews, and books, so specially precious in foreign lands, mark a bright day for him from time to time. There are, again, men at home, buried, as they think, in dismal rural parsonages, with no near neighbours of congenial tastes and like education, and they feel that their life threatens to become mere vegetation, for lack of intercourse with minds more original or better stored than their own. May it be added, that from time to time A. B. advertises his willingness to exercise his ministry in a dry climate, or in the neighbourhood of "good society"? The days when facilities for sport found place in such advertisements have, happily, gone by, and public opinion is not likely to tolerate their recurrence.

From these pictures we turn to Newfoundland. Are there heathens to be found in this colony? Not indeed among the aborigines for they have dwindled down to a score or two; but there are heathens, and thirty years ago these were to be found in large numbers. They were not, indeed, Hindus, nor Buddhists, nor followers of Confucius, but men, women, and children speaking our own mother-tongue, wholly removed from all sounds and sights of religion, and sunk into utter spiritual vacancy. Some of them had gone out from England, specially from Devonshire and Dorsetshire, and others from Jersey; their children born in the island are called Shumaks: they had no superstitions to gratify antiquarian search; neither by the form of their features nor by the structure of their language were they subjects of interest to the ethnologist; they had no ruined temples or shrines to attract the architect: they were just samples of hard-working English people, who, by long contact with poverty, and by entire emancipation from all Christian teaching, had sunk down to an animal existence, concerned only with obtaining things that perish in the using, and for the most part obtaining but a scanty share. The Newfoundland missionary meets

with no perils from heathen potentates and chiefs, such as have surrounded the heralds of the Cross in Borneo, in Africa, in New Zealand, or in Melanesia. Perils there are, on land and sea, and greater still the perils of faith failing and hope drooping under the dull monotonous wear and tear of plodding work, a rigorous climate, and scanty means. The climate which forms the subject of our frequent animadversions at home, is repeated at Newfoundland, with all its disagreeables intensified infinitely. Damp, fog, rain, snow, wind, cold which makes an ordinary thermometer useless for weeks together when the mercury is below zero, and in the brief summer, seasons of great heat (for the latitude of St. John's is the same as that of Paris); this is the climate, or, rather, these are various climates of Newfoundland. "*Sudavit et alsit*" may be written of the dweller in these regions.

In this ungenial country missionaries, few indeed in number, have laboured since 1704. At that time there were only about 500 English residents, but during the fishing seasons many thousands of seafaring people were in the harbours. St. John's, the present capital, was the only settlement that deserved to be called a town: here a church was built, but the zeal of the people was such that they had allowed it to fall into decay, when, in 1788, Bishop Inglis inquired into their condition; while they refused to repair it, or even to fence the yard in which their deceased relatives were lying, they had zeal of another sort. In this distant spot the "pew system" was in full vigour, with the "dog-in-the-manger" policy which is its shadow: the people professed to have a freehold in their pews, which they let to those who would use them; and they opposed the erection of a new church, lest their rights should cease with the removal of the old one.

The Church in Newfoundland struggled for more than a

century against sectarianism, indifference, and neglect. No Anglican bishop ever visited it until 1827, and therefore our churches were unconsecrated and the people unconfirmed. Roman bishops and priests had zealously laboured, and many brought up in our communion sought for religious consolation from their ministrations, despairing of ever being reached by their own clergy. In 1839 the Rev. Aubrey George Spencer, who had been for years a Newfoundland missionary, and subsequently Archdeacon of Bermuda, was consecrated Bishop of Newfoundland. Let us remind our readers of the character of the diocese to which he was appointed.

Newfoundland is an equilateral triangle, with an area about the same as that of Ireland; the coast is everywhere indented with harbours, "tickles" (creeks), and rivers: some of these, which give refuge to the fishermen, who are accustomed to pilot themselves in and out, are full of perils to the inexperienced, and the cliffs are so precipitous and the beaches so few, that the chances of escape are but small to the ships driven ashore by gales, or, more treacherous still, caught by the "in-draught" of the swell during the prevalence of fog. The English, whose livelihood depends on the fishing, have placed their settlements on the coast; the interior, which is rocky and has large tracts of moss, is uncultivated; indeed, the *ingrata tellus* scantily repays the husbandman's toil. Locomotion has to be accomplished in boats, or on foot over mountains and morasses. Bishop Spencer made his first visitation "in open boats through fogs and icebergs," and he found an alarming deficiency of everything that could minister to Christian education. The members of the Church were scattered along 1,200 miles of coast, with no communication between the several coves and harbours except by water, many of them utterly without any hope of ever being reached by a missionary, and the

few clergy utterly worn down by the magnitude of their charges and the knowledge that many of their people they would never reach. Bishop Spencer's episcopate of Newfoundland was short-lived; in 1844 he was translated to Jamaica: it was not, however, without results; he left an organised diocese; a training college and schools had been established; sixty-five churches, chapels, or licensed rooms were erected; and he had confirmed 2,765 persons, nearly one-tenth of the whole Church population.

To him succeeded Bishop Feild, whose truly apostolic labours for now nearly thirty years form a tale of devoted service as glorious as any church or age can produce. In the simplest fashion, without a thought of self, without an idea of his lot being a hard one,—indeed, with frequent declarations of the happiness of his life, the healthiness of the climate, the abundance of all things which are absolutely necessary, and not without stern reproof of those who have magnified the hardships of Newfoundland life,—this venerable missionary has been year by year seeking out the homes of the poor fishermen, who were living far beyond the reach of the Church and without any expectation of finding any to care for them. The present Primus of the Scottish Church gave him on his consecration a yacht, the "Hawk:" this was a handy square-topsail schooner, a good sea-boat, sailing well; her hold was so fitted up as to form a long room, which served as a church; with her flag, bearing the arms of the see, flying at her peak, this good "Church-ship" every other year, when the ice was broken, carried the bishop, with his chaplain and one or two of the pupils of the theological college,—who were thus going through the training for their future work,—on his errand of mercy to the many coves and bays with which the shores of his diocese is indented: they were, in truth, voyages of discovery. In some cases no charts were available, and the

risk of navigation in unknown waters was great: but not simply in this sense were they voyages of discovery; the ship would stand into a harbour, of which nothing was known, and a boat or two would put out to greet the strange sail, or the bishop would hail a fishing-boat, and learn where the nearest settlement was to be found. Services were held, sometimes on board ship, sometimes in a fisherman's hut, in fish-stores, in lofts—wherever it was possible. Children would be brought for baptism, couples would be married; during his stay the bishop always catechised the people and taught them some prayers; where it was possible, he arranged for one of them to read prayers on Sundays: and the good ship would sail away, leaving the little settlement rejoicing as though a bright gleam had for a time crossed the path of their dull existence; and the bishop, while thankful to have been able to impart some spiritual gifts, would be full of sorrow at his inability to do more.

Work so arduous and so devoted has attracted from time to time labourers of no common gifts and graces; among the pastors and evangelists of Newfoundland have been men whose mental attainments would have qualified them for any position in the Church, while their patience and self-denial would have adorned any age. Among these was Jacob George Mountain, a grandson of the first and a nephew of the third Bishop of Quebec. Educated at England's greatest school, he distinguished himself by winning the Newcastle Scholarship; thence he went to Oxford, and was elected postmaster of Merton, the college of another Etonian who afterwards gave himself to the hard work of the missionary life—John Coleridge Patteson. Bent on a strictly ministerial life, he declined the offer of a mastership in his old school; he had intended to find work in some over-populated and neglected district at home, but an appeal for men, issued by Bishop Feild in 1847, led him to volun-

teer to join him. His scholarship and theological learning would have secured for the missionary college at St. John's a Principal such as few such institutions, at home or abroad, could hope to find, and the bishop naturally offered him the post; but his heart was fixed on some hard and secluded sphere among the poor. Such a post was found for him at Harbour Briton, the centre of a line of coast 150 miles in length, on the southern shore of Newfoundland. Within the limits of the mission there were forty settlements, consisting generally of four or five families: these had to be visited as frequently as possible; but how to do so and not neglect the central station at Harbour Briton? By the aid of friends at home a second missionary was supported, and then for weeks together Mr. Mountain would go on his voyages of love and mercy. These were no times of ease or pleasant adventure; the hospitality, always readily extended, was the hospitality of fishermen's huts, and the food at the best was limited to salt meat, salt fish, tea, and molasses. The evenings would find the people assembled in the largest room available for prayers and a sermon, for administering the sacrament of baptism, for catechising the children, and giving advice and direction.

Beyond the bounds of the mission directly entrusted to Mr. Mountain, there were stationed along the same coast five deacons, whose work had from time to time to be supervised by him, and the deficiencies of their ministrations to be supplied by one who was in priest's orders. In the long winter evenings he would prepare some young men, whom he had attracted to himself, for the work of the ministry; of these several have continued on the same shore the work which he at first attempted single-handed. One of them, the Rev. W. W. Le Gallais, had been employed as a clerk at La Poêle, but he joined Mr. Mountain as catechist, companion, and pupil. After a residence at St. John's College,

he ultimately became missionary at Channel, at the south-western point of Newfoundland. Here it was soon evident that the mantle of his teacher had fallen upon him. On this promontory, partly rock and partly morass, Mr. Le Gallais worked hard, and moulded a rough but grateful people ; his church was enlarged, and it was used for daily prayer, whenever he was not itinerating : every person in his mission who was qualified was confirmed, and his communicants were largely increased. Preferment was offered him, and friends and relatives urged him, by consideration of wife and children, to seek work more highly remunerative and surrounded by circumstances of less hardship; but he had not so studied the rules of a missionary's life as to turn away from his work: he never neglected the summons of the sick and dying, and, to their credit it must be recorded, the fishermen of Newfoundland are always ready, even in the height of the season, —their precarious harvest of the sea—to take the clergyman in their boats, whatever the distance or weather, without fee or expectation of any, whither his duty calls him. Such a summons reached Mr. Le Gallais in October, 1869. He had to visit a sick woman at Isles aux Morts, seven miles from his home : for more than a dozen years he had been wont to attend to such calls : on his return he was caught in a gale ; the open boat in which he was could not live in the stormy sea, and of himself and his companions nothing more was heard or seen.

Mr. Mountain laboured for seven years at Harbour Briton, and then, at the urgent request of the bishop, consented, his mission being now divided into several, to become the Principal of St. John's College. Here he continued until, in 1856, a terrible fever visited Newfoundland, which, in his ministrations to the sick, he caught, and ultimately died on the Feast of St. Michael.

Few men have ever laboured in our distant missions who

brought to the work higher gifts, or who abandoned brighter prospects than did he. Independently of his acute scholarship, he was profoundly versed in patristic theology, and the writings of St. Augustine and St. Bernard had, by constant study, become to him parts of his very self; and yet so humble, so conscientious was he, that he took especial care in the composition of the sermons which he would preach to his poor people, preparing himself for the labour of writing them by several hours of reading and prayer. His life was one of voluntary, self-imposed hardness. He wrote on one occasion to a friend: "I hold that the soft and epicurean doctrine of the present day of sparing the body is utterly contrary to the Gospel, and is the mother of heresies, the daughter of self-deceit and sloth, the handmaid to self-indulgence, the door to secret unbelief and virtual denial of the cross of Christ, and that there is no ground whatever in Holy Scripture for believing that the trials and chastisements which are inflicted from above are quite sufficient, without adding our own; else there could be no meaning in St. Paul's 'watchings and fastings,' in addition to his 'hunger and thirst, weariness and painfulness;' not, of course, as having any merit in themselves,—what has? Neither faith nor works, nor fasting nor feasting, nor weeping nor rejoicing: all must be done in and for and by Christ."

And yet with this stern asceticism there was combined a marvellous sweetness and charity, which won and attracted all who came in contact with him. Once, on board a man-of-war, he heard some bad language among the crew, and he said to the chaplain, "Do you not remonstrate with them?"

"It would be of no use while they are all together and excited," was the reply.

With the chaplain's consent, Mr. Mountain spoke to

them, and both then and at subsequent times they listened to him with marked attention, even the very men who, the chaplain thought, would have scoffed at any rebuke: it was the unmistakable reality and earnestness which impressed them.

On the western coast of Newfoundland, about 250 miles in length, there are the two missions of St. George's Bay and the Bay of Islands. From November till May the people on this coast are literally "out of the world." At Channel, the nearest mission on the south coast, letters are brought nominally every month by steamer, but communication with St. George's Bay, ninety-five miles distant, can only be accomplished with much risk. Once, perhaps, during the winter the attempt is made. An Indian will set out with a bag of letters, charging half-a-dollar for each, if he succeeds in delivering them; but very often he fails. In this wide mission a young clergyman, the Rev. F. G. Hall, from St. Augustine's College, was placed in 1870. His first winter he passed quite alone. His parsonage was furnished only with such chairs and tables as he could borrow; he had no servant; he lighted his stove himself, and two hours daily were spent in chopping wood to keep his fire going; he blacked or rather "oiled" his own boots, cooked his own food, and often, from sheer exhaustion and cold, went without a meal to save the trouble of cooking it. It was in this mission, in 1856, that the Rev. T. Boland was frozen to death within a mile of his own house. In these remote stations the missionary has to be physician, magistrate, lawyer, and general arbitrator, as well as clergyman and schoolmaster. He must be ready at all times to go anywhere and to lead the life of a poor fisherman—neither better nor worse. Mr. Hall has detailed his adventures, when answering a summons to bury a parishioner some twenty-five miles off, in language so graphic and yet

so free from exaggeration, that it deserves to find a place here.

Having described the "skiff," a small decked fishing-boat, in which he embarked and weighed at 11 P.M., in a heavy Scotch mist, he says:—

"In spite of the wet and the cold night air, the deck seemed preferable to the combined odours of unsavoury cod-fish and bilge water. The wet, however, increased, and about 1 A.M. a retreat was necessitated to the one vacant berth in the fore-cuddy. To creep into a kind of rough box, about 4 ft. 9 in. long, and so close to the deck as not to admit of a man lying on his side, required a little exercise of ingenuity; however, as the would-be occupant was not a Banting, the feat was performed. In spite of being compelled first to try the posture of a junction between knees and chin, and then of an extension movement, by resting the calves of one's legs on the top of the sharp foot-board, sleep did at length visit me. In little more than a couple of hours I awoke wretchedly sea-sick. Presently something happened to the flue of the little stove, and then, to avoid suffocation, I was dragged on deck, where I lay wrapped up in a tarpaulin, to keep me clear of the spray which continually came over the low freeboard of our little craft. An ineffectual attempt was made to swallow, from the one tin mug common to all, a little tea, sweetened with molasses; and then the kind fellows rolled me up again until twelve o'clock, when, feeling a little stronger and propping myself up against the mast, we joined in morning prayer. It was not until 6 P.M. that we reached our destination at the Barachoix, having thus been nineteen hours making a way of twenty-five miles.

"Having landed and refreshed ourselves with a wash, a crew of six men pulled us about a mile further on, to the burial-ground. Here, in the room of a house close by,

were crowded twenty-five or thirty people waiting our arrival. Then, the former part of the service being completed, we all, with an extemporised sugar-loaf paper shade over the flickering light, picked our way to the grave and proceeded with the remaining portion of our burial office. The service was rendered doubly affecting by the sobs of the mourners, who themselves were hidden in the darkness of the night, and by the low murmuring of the sea upon the shore below, moaning as it were in sympathy with the friends of the departed one. The funeral over, all returned to the little room, where we had evening prayer, and a short sermon from the text, 'O grave, where is thy victory?' Having given a notice concerning confirmation candidates, we returned to our original landing-place, Robinson's Head, and after a hearty meal—the only one within the preceding twenty-six hours—I turned into bed thoroughly fagged."

Far to the north of St. George's Bay the Rev. Ulric Rule has been stationed since 1865. Few spheres of labour can be more lonely or remote. Writing to his new neighbour, Mr. Hall (a neighbour at a hundred miles distance!), he thus described their position: "Goode, you know" (of Channel), "is in the world. He is at the end of it, it is true; but still he is not out of it as we are. You and I are over the edge: that great ridge of Cape Ray table-land is the boundary between us and the world."

How depressing must be the sense of being thus "out of the world" can only be learned by experience. The labours of Mr. Rule have earned for him from a Roman Catholic priest the title of "the St. Jerome of Newfoundland." His work has a parallel in that of the Rev. R. H. Temple, who, since 1864, has been working in White Bay, on the eastern coast, 200 miles long, and tapering off at the Straits of Belle Isle. These two young men went from

England together; and thus, one on the western, the other on the eastern coast of Newfoundland, have been doing a work which none others have volunteered to do. And they have done it on a principle that is almost unique. They went to minister not to heathens but to Christians, and they felt that, if their ministrations were worth anything, they were worth sufficient to afford them a maintenance. Luxuries or even comforts they looked not for, but sufficient of such things as they had they considered that the poor fishermen ought to supply them with. Thus they threw themselves on their people. They moved from cove to cove and station to station, and, wherever they came, they claimed food and shelter for their work's sake. The food was the inevitable salt cod and tea and molasses, with the occasional but infrequent rum-and-water; the shelter was a share in the family hut, but they were always forthcoming; and thus for years these hardy, self-denying clergymen, with a zeal and a patience never excelled by Roman devotee, or by those patterns of primitive simplicity, the Moravian Brethren, have been tending, for Christ's sake, those few sheep of His who would otherwise be wholly uncared for. The kindness of strangers has enabled them to build churches. Once or twice grants have been made to them by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and by the Diocesan Church Society; but their annual income has never exceeded £50 in money. With the first donation of £25 which they received, each determined to build for himself a decked boat, which would prevent him from trespassing on the limited room of his people, while giving him a little cabin in which he could study in private. When we remember that in these latitudes the winter lasts for nearly nine months, during which no communication of any kind with the outer world is possible, the other privations of their lot are intensified greatly.

It would be easy, and undoubtedly it would be pleasant, to recount the labours of other devoted men, who have given themselves to the work of the Church in this diocese, of which the highest office is no preferment, except as imposing the largest amount of self-denial and of responsibility. Space, or rather the want of it, alone compels us to close this chapter with some few remarks on its general condition, and of the noble efforts which have been made to render it as independent as possible of external aid. Poor Newfoundland will probably ever be. Under this rugged and sterile soil there is hidden wealth of ore which capital may, at some distant day, bring to light. From its surrounding seas and ice-floes there are harvested crops of fish and of seals, which, plentiful and abundant in one year, are miserably scanty in another. Some portion of the success of a prosperous year reaches to the pockets of the poor fishermen; but poor they will ever be. Few of them are capitalists; they are dependent for their winter supplies on the merchants, and in years of dearth they go deeply in debt to them. The merchants live in England; and as many of them are not members of the Church, they cannot be expected to do much towards supporting a religion which they do not profess. Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, efforts at self-support have been steadily kept in view, and of the forty-seven clergy at work in the diocese, twelve are maintained wholly, and the rest partially, by local resources. In the Theological College at St. John's many of the sons of missionaries have been trained to follow in their fathers' steps. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of an hereditary priesthood, it is a satisfactory thing that the clergy of Newfoundland, in no wise cast down by the hardships of their own lot, wish nothing better for their children than that they should succeed to their heritage of work in the Church. For this college

the bishop has succeeded in raising an endowment fund of £6,000.

In 1867 the growing demands of the diocese made a coadjutor desirable, and Bishop Feild succeeded, by the sacrifice of half of his income, in obtaining the consecration of Archdeacon Kelly as his successor. This assistance has in no degree lessened the labours of the veteran prelate, although the diocese has, of course, derived great benefit from it; and that the episcopate is duly valued in Newfoundland is evident from the fact that, in 1871, no less a sum than £4,000 was given for the permanent endowment of the see.

In 1868 the good ship "Hawk"—"δεξιὸς ὄρνις,"* as the bishop loved to call her—became too old for the hazardous work of sailing to the Labrador and the dangerous bays on the eastern and western shores of Newfoundland; she, therefore, was reduced to the ignoble duty of a coaster. A new ship, the "Star," was provided by friends in England. The experience of past years was now available, and the "Star" was in every way adapted for her work. She was a "fore-and-aft" schooner, and could be sailed by fewer hands than the "Hawk:" a great consideration this, for every voyage costs £400, and now the voyages have to be made yearly instead of every alternate year; but, alas! her career was a brief one. The old "Hawk" survives her. On August 18th, 1871, the "Star" went down off "Little River," and Bishop Kelly and the crew were hardly saved. This was a grievous loss! She was insured for a small sum, which the underwriters generously doubled; and an appeal for help was made in England.

An officer of the Royal Engineers, who had witnessed

* Οὔ τοι ἄνευ Θεοῦ ἔπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις (*Odyssey*, o.531.32) is the motto which the Bishop gave to the "Hawk."

the labours of these bishops and their clergy, when called to military service on that station, offered his own yacht, the "Lavrock," to be the future Church-ship of Newfoundland; and in May, 1872, he sailed in her from Southampton, in order to present her in person to the bishop. This yacht carries on her deck a small steam launch, which, it is hoped, will be of great service. Nothing is more tedious than the frequent calms, which hinder these voyages, already limited by the brief summer during which the waters are open; nothing is more dangerous than the beating out of narrow harbours, with rocks on either side, or the drifting with the tide towards rocks, when there is not wind enough to keep off them. For the future these disagreeables will be avoided, as the steam launch will be hoisted out, when necessary, and will take the "Lavrock" in tow. There are greater perils and longer voyages than are comprised in a visitation of Newfoundland; but of the missions in Labrador, and how they are reached, another paper must treat. The present one will have been written in vain, if those who are at the pains to read it are not stirred with admiration of the devotion of our fathers and brethren labouring in Newfoundland, nor filled with something like humility at the difference between the hardship of their noble lives and the comforts and luxuries with which we are ourselves surrounded.

XXXVIII.

WHATEVER has been written in the preceding paper of the hardships of life in Newfoundland applies with even more force to Labrador; the very name is synonymous in our ears with everything that is cold, dreary, and inhospitable. For the Esquimaux and his limited wants it may suffice; indeed those poor people may be of that patriotic sort whose "first best country always is at home." But what attractions a country so dreary can have possessed for English folk it is hard to imagine. Men will do much for gold; but wealth, even in the most moderate degree, can never be met with in Labrador. A good season of fish or of seals may enable the hardy fisherman to provide himself with clothing and shelter, and coarse, but sufficient, food for the winter, but no more, and a bad season will bring him face to face with want. Nevertheless many hundreds of English people have made their home on this unpromising soil.

The western portion of the Labrador coast, on the northern side of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is in the Diocese of Quebec: from Blanc Sablon, and onwards almost indefinitely (for the actual limits have not been laid down), the Bishop of Newfoundland is supposed to be responsible; practically, the missions of the Church of England extend from the Quebec side to Sandwich Bay, a distance of about 500 miles; while still further to the north the patient Moravians have six settlements, the most distant of which is 300 miles from Sandwich Bay. In 1848 Bishop Feild made his first "voyage of discovery" to Forteau, the nearest point to

Newfoundland, being only twelve miles distant across the Strait of Belle Isle. Here he found a resident population of about 200, and a large number of ships attracted by the fishery. His visitation extended to Sandwich Bay, on a direct line of coast 250 miles in length; the many settlements were visited, and it was discovered that the English-speaking residents numbered fully 1,200. There were two races of aborigines—viz., the Esquimaux, who had been instructed by Moravians, and a tribe of mountaineers who were Romanists, for it should be mentioned that French priests from Canada had been in the habit of visiting the coast, although no permanent mission had been established. The bishop found the people living without religion, but by no means hardened against it: they gladly purchased Bibles and Prayer-books, and declared their willingness to receive and to endeavour to support a clergyman. They were, as might be imagined, grossly ignorant, and regarded the art of reading as a mysterious power, and the possessor of it as a prodigy of learning and qualified for any post. Thus "a fine reader" was always in request to administer holy baptism, and the people could see no irregularity in the proceeding as "he could read most so well as a parson." The bishop saw that the only way of caring for these people would be by placing three clergy—one at Forteau, who should have charge of some forty miles of coast on Newfoundland as well as seventy-five on the Labrador, another at Battle Harbour, and another at Sandwich Bay, each with 100 miles of coast; but where were the men? In 1849 the bishop returned to Labrador with a young deacon, the Rev. A. Gifford. A fisherman at Forteau agreed to divide his bedroom by a wooden partition and to give half of the room to Mr. Gifford, who was also to share his table; and there on that desolate shore the bishop left him in August, with the certainty of hearing nothing of the

outer world until the following May, or perhaps June. Others followed his example: the Rev. H. P. Disney was placed at Battle Harbour in 1850, and in 1853 the Rev. G. Hutchinson left his parish on the slopes of the Malvern Hills, and commenced a twelve years' residence on the Labrador. In 1853 the first church was built on this coast; there are now five, and, instead of the gross ignorance that once prevailed, the people are well instructed in Christian truth, value their Church, and make sacrifices to maintain it. This has been accomplished by hard labour and much self-denial on the part of the clergy. They have had to travel through snow and ice and fog—in the brief summer by boat, amid floating ice and foam, and in the long winter on sledges; they must fare as the fishermen fare, and must be content to lodge on their journeys in their huts on the coast, or in the rough "tilts" in winter; fresh beef or mutton they never see; salt pork and fish are the staple food, although one clergyman says that he has eaten and relished "fox, white and horned owls, raven, squirrel, field-mouse, otter, musk-rat, marten-cat, lynx, and seal."

The western portion of Labrador was first visited by the Bishop of Quebec about ten years ago, and along 180 miles of coast he found a fishing population, similar to that which the Bishop of Newfoundland had found on the eastern coast. In 1862 the first missionary was stationed here. Bishop Mountain (of Quebec), although seventy-three years of age, accompanied him and visited the whole coast; when about to return he was detained a whole fortnight in a light-house waiting for a steamer. In 1863 a second ventured hither; both of these were unequal to the climate. In 1864 the Rev. R. Wainwright volunteered for the work; his wife was as anxious to go as he was himself. In October, when the severities of winter were already making their presence felt, the missionary family, for there were three

children with their parents, were landed at Old Fort Island; no house was ready for them, and the only available shelter was a half-finished barn, fifteen feet by twenty; it had been built of green wood cut on the coast, and the seams were so open, that as the inmates lay in bed they could see the people outside through the chinks in the timbers. It is obvious that these facilities for looking out on the passing scene would allow the snow and wind to beat in until, as was the case, beds, chairs, and tables were covered with ice; but Mr. Wainwright was a man of resources: he "clap-boarded" the outside, stopped the chinks inside, put up a partition, and was fortunate in the possession of a quantity of stout brown paper, with which he lined the inside, and then declared himself "comfortably settled." There was, however, great difficulty about wood: a "raft," which his people fetched from the mainland, was frozen up in the river, and when got out it was thoroughly soaked; it lasted, however, until February, after which it was impossible to keep constant fires through lack of fuel. In this spring Mr. Wainwright accomplished 700 miles of journeying on a kammutik drawn by dogs, and the exposure brought on snow-blindness, which prevented his reading or writing. When summer came he proposed to his people to form a settlement on the mainland on the river St. Augustine, where there was more shelter, abundance of wood, and a better soil. The people agreed, and before another winter had set in a good mission-house, part of which served the purpose of a school, and a church were built, and the people gladly settled down by the side of the missionary, where they could get the benefit of his teaching for their children and themselves. Mr. Wainwright acquired great fame in this locality for the variety of his accomplishments. He was in constant demand as "setter of broken bones" and surgeon generally, and his authority was frequently invoked for the arrangement of disputes. After five

years of this arduous service, the Bishop of Quebec removed him to a parish in more civilised parts, where his children would meet with some advantages on entering upon life. He was succeeded by the Rev. James Hepburn, who carries on the good work, and speaks cheerfully of his sledging in winter and boatings in summer, as though they were among the most pleasant recreations that a man could desire. The bishop himself spent the summer of 1871 on the Labrador, and declared that the tone of life among these fishermen would compare very favourably with that of any Christian community, and that this result was wholly to be attributed to the residence of a clergyman among them.

Next to the Labrador in hardship, is the mission to the Magdalene Islands, which, six in number, lie far out in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, fifty miles from the mainland. They have a population of 2,500, of which nine-tenths are Romanists, and of French extraction. For six months in the year they are altogether cut off from all communication with the world. The intercourse between the islands during the winter is carried on by sledges, an operation always perilous, as the rapid tides make the ice unsafe. There are no inns—every traveller claims and receives hospitality; and as cleanliness is almost unknown, the accommodation is not the most luxurious.

It is well that we should remember these sketches of missionary work and life in the extreme north; they are in no degree exaggerated, neither are they exceptional instances that are quoted. The fact that labours of this kind are undertaken year by year, voluntarily and without murmur, on only a curate's stipend, is surely a proof that the Gospel has still a power and an attraction, which lead men to choose for themselves the hardest work and loneliest stations, looking for nothing in return, but simply from love to men and devotion to God.

XXXIX.

JUST as the alchemists who devoted their lives to ineffectual attempts to discover the philosopher's stone laid the world under many obligations by the indirect and unintentional results of their labours, so are we indebted to the hardy sailors who for centuries endeavoured fruitlessly to find the North West Passage, for the discovery of islands and continents which have added to the wealth and happiness of the world. Although Sebastian Cabot probably sailed into Hudson's Bay in 1512, the region was not actually discovered until a century later, when Henry Hudson gave his name to that magnificent bay and opened the country to the world: another half-century passed before Prince Rupert sent a vessel to James' Bay, and the charter was granted to the Hudson's Bay Company. Meanwhile the French had colonised Canada, and were dealing with the Indians for furs, and now the Company entered into competition with them. This colony has differed from others in that immigration has all along been discouraged. From the boundary line on parallel 48° 50′ to the North Pole, and from the Pacific to the Atlantic, was one gigantic hunting-field, about the size of the continent of Europe; this was preserved with much jealousy. Every additional immigrant made the country less suited for what appeared to the Company to be its final cause, the harbouring of wild animals; the same considerations which made the Company diligent preservers

of the game, led them also to preserve the native human races. A few Europeans they required at their forts and stations to collect their spoils of fur, and to forward them to England, but for the duties of hunters and trappers they required a supply of Indians and half-breeds; they cultivated enough of the soil to supply their servants with bread and butter and milk, but not a rood was tilled beyond what was necessary for this purpose, lest the increase of the game should be interfered with. But while they preserved the aborigines just as they preserved the wild beasts, they did nothing whatever for their spiritual elevation for 150 years; indeed, the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company appear to have been content to dispense with religious ministrations for themselves, for no Presbyterian minister (the Company's servants were almost wholly Presbyterians) was sent out until the present century was nearly twenty years old. The first settlement was made by the English Government in 1811, under the Earl of Selkirk; his successor, Mr. Semple, was directed in 1815 to investigate the religious system of the aborigines, but he had to report that not a trace of idol or temple was visible, and he strongly urged the erection of a church, and immediate provision to be made as well for the settlers as for the heathen. This was violently opposed by the Company, who ever gave to the human races the second place in their consideration, while they reserved their special care for the beasts which gave them their profits.

In 1818 two Roman priests had settled on Red River, one of whom soon became Bishop of Juliopolis; this see has since developed into a province. The Bishop of Juliopolis has become Archbishop of St. Boniface, and he has three suffragans, a staff of priests, brothers and nuns, as well as the College of St. Boniface, in which the future clergy are being trained. In 1820 the Company sent out a chaplain,

the Rev. John West; at that time there was not a Christian Indian in the country. Mr. West was a far-seeing man; he laid down a true foundation, on which it would be easy to build, and from the first he arranged a system of tithes, by which all who benefited by the ministrations of the Church should be trained in the habit of paying for them. He also devoted himself to the Indians, and of two lads whom he baptized and educated, one, the Rev. Henry Budd, is now, after more than thirty years, the pastor of a large Christian mission, founded by himself, with 800 Indian members. After three years Mr. West returned to England. One of his successors, who afterwards became Archdeacon Cochran, laboured for forty years in this country with singular intelligence and devotion. He reclaimed the Indians from their wandering lives; believing that a missionary's duty was to humanise as well as to evangelise the heathen, he taught them to plough and to reap, to grind their corn which they had grown, to build houses and to thatch them with reed. In all weathers he took his long journeys, and to all kinds of work he put his hand. He failed, in common with his brethren, in one respect—neither the Indians nor the settlers were taught the duty of supporting their Church; they became demoralised by having everything done for them. Moreover, the strong prejudice in favour of Presbyterian worship among the Scotch settlers was very foolishly yielded to by the English clergy, until the services of our Church could hardly be recognised; the prayers would be read indeed in compliance with the Act of Uniformity, but the congregations would sit in their pews until they were ended; they would then stand, while an extempore prayer was recited before and after the sermon. The churches were without chancels; the holy table was sometimes in a corner, sometimes between the desk and pulpit in the body of the church, and the sacred elements were delivered to the

people sitting in their pews; not a word of the Canticles or Psalms was chanted, neither was there an offertory throughout the diocese; and even in the cathedral church the Holy Communion was celebrated only five times in the year so recently as 1864.

In 1844 Bishop Mountain, then coadjutor to the Bishop of Quebec, thinking that, if it were in no diocese, no bishop could so conveniently reach Rupert's Land as himself, determined to visit those congregations; it was a journey of 2,000 miles, and involved thirty-eight days' travelling in open canoes. The visit was heartily appreciated by the people, and the result of his representations was the establishment of the Bishopric of Rupert's Land in 1849. Bishop Anderson held this see until 1864, and during his episcopate the Indian and pastoral work was much extended; ministrations were provided for the Crees, Santeaux, Chippewyans, Sioux, and some Esquimaux. The enormous extent of the diocese involved most fatiguing journeys, and made communication difficult and often impossible: thus in 1860 two of the clergy were unable to attend the conference summoned by the bishop—one being at Fort Simpson, 2,500 miles to the north-west, the other at Moose, 1,200 miles to the east.

It is in the future rather than in the past of this colony that our great interest lies. It has been taken out of the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, not indeed without some excitement—a provisional government, a president who held his office for a brief space, and an excellently planned expedition which put down the insurgents—and the Red River settlement is now the province of Manitoba, in the Dominion of Canada, and promises to become one of the granaries of the world. The soil is so fertile that wheat can be grown year after year without manure; indeed, the great difficulty of the farmer is to get rid of his straw, which

has to be burned, and an act has been passed prohibiting the custom of throwing the manure into the rivers. Any addition to the natural power of the soil would produce a crop too luxuriant to ripen in the brief summer, and therefore the disposal of manure, so precious to the English farmer, so worthless to the Red River settler, becomes a difficulty. But crops, however abundant, are only an embarrassment if there be no market for the surplus beyond what is required for home consumption, and hitherto Rupert's Land has been so remote that all its cereals failed to profit the rest of the world. Originally there were only two ways of reaching the settlement, one by Hudson's Bay, the other by Canada and the Lakes; the first was practicable only for four months in the year, the other was always hazardous, and had ultimately to be abandoned. With the development of the new States of Iowa, Minnesota, Dakota, and Nebraska, a new route was opened to Pembina, on the frontier, but even here there stretched between the settlement and the outer world a prairie of 400 miles in extent, with no roads over that distance except what rough carts made. Bishop Machray compared the position of his people to that of a community of some 10,000 people scattered over an area of 100 miles, say from Aberdeen to Inverness, with no communication northwards, and southwards only with London by carts, over tracts uninhabited except by wandering Sioux Indians, whose absence would be desirable. This state of things is now at an end. Through the American States a line of railway is being made at the rate of a mile a day; this runs within 160 miles of the frontier, with which it is parallel. In the State of Minnesota two branches have been made, which almost touch Manitoba, or Red River settlement. From this point for 1,000 miles westward, until the Rocky Mountains are reached, there is a country, at present uninhabited, the fer-

tility of whose soil is only equalled by that of the Western States of America, whose productions have made the city of Chicago, the emporium of the west, so important as to excite the sympathy of the world by its conflagration, and so full of resources that the calamity was to itself only a temporary inconvenience. Into this region, soon to have railway communication with Canada—for the Government Dominion has pledged itself to complete a line from coast to coast in ten years—an immense immigrant population may be expected to flow; indeed, there can be no truer philanthropy than to assist in the removal of multitudes of our own poor, who are willing to work, to these regions, where the virgin soil invites them to settle. If it be true that we are making history every day that we live, here indeed are we laying the foundations of future empires, and on our present efforts must largely depend the future, social and religious, of these regions and of the people that will inhabit them. The daughter Church of America has early occupied the ground on the southern side of the boundary, and the labours of Bishop Whipple in Minnesota, and the other missionary bishops of the West, have been unwearied.

The Bishop of Rupert's Land, during the seven years of his episcopate, has boldly grappled with the difficulties of his position. He has multiplied services and sacraments; by the introduction of music he has made the services of the Church more reverent and attractive; and the offertory, now an established institution, has taught the people the duty of giving. By dint of hard travelling over the winter snows he has visited the distant outposts and learned their needs: how hazardous such visitations are can only be known by experience; the bishop has had to travel day after day in a sledge and to sleep on the frozen snow, wrapped up in buffalo hides, with the Angel of the Covenant for his pro-

tector and the canopy of heaven for his curtain; but what can one man, however zealous, effect in a diocese the size of a continent? And here the Church of England compares unfavourably with the daughter Church; it would seem that we possess neither the machinery, nor the power of self-government, nor the liberality to multiply the episcopate as circumstances require. Manitoba alone will now give ample work to its own bishop. The huge region of the McKenzie River, which the present bishop can never hope to reach, ought to have its own overseer; there are at present in it three clergymen (nearly as many as the whole colony contained when Bishop Anderson was consecrated), and a layman who is prepared to offer himself for ordination. The Moose, or southern department of the Hudson's Bay Company, with large bodies of Christian Indians within its limits, has hitherto been visited with great difficulty, and such visits will become almost impossible if it has to depend on the bishop, resident amid the increasing duties which will fall to him in Manitoba; and in the Saskatchewan district, where there are already a Roman bishop and clergy, four Wesleyans and one Presbyterian teacher, a vast population attracted by the presence of gold, as well as by the fertility of the land, will soon claim the care of the Church.

It is surely a providential act that opens to the over-populated countries of the old world a field so vast and so rich in manifold resources, whose soil can hardly be said to repay, as in its virginal fertility it barely demands, the toil of the husbandman, and where the climate, although extreme, is dry and healthy, the summer sun ripening abundant food with which to brave the winter's cold. Whether the population now flowing into this newly-opened country shall be Christian or heathen, whether we shall repeat the blunders and the sins which have too often marked our efforts at colonisation elsewhere, or whether we shall profit by the

experience so dearly bought in former times and in other lands, these are questions which will be answered, once and for ever, by the action of Churchmen within the next two or three years ; when these have past, the thing will have been done, well or ill, and change will be impossible.

XL.

Until 1858 little or nothing was known of British Columbia. It had formed part of the hunting-grounds of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose policy had been to dissuade emigrants from settling within their preserves. The soil was supposed to be barren, the climate severe, and naturally few persons were so venturesome as to transport themselves to a region so unpromising. It was to the credit of the British Government that in 1858 the renewal of the lease to the Hudson's Bay Company was refused, and Columbia became a British colony. The discovery of gold had attracted a large and varied population, and it had become necessary to protect them, and thus a new field was open to enterprise and to civilisation. In 1856 the Church Missionary Society had sent out a catechist, Mr. William Duncan, who has done a remarkable work, of which something will be said presently. In 1857 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent out two clergymen, and early in 1859 Bishop Hills was consecrated. Thus Columbia started into existence as a colony and as a Church under exceptionally favourable circumstances. Its material resources, its natural position, its magnificent harbours, seemed to promise for it a speedy and an unexampled prosperity. Independently of its gold, which is everywhere more or less precarious, its coals and its timber seemed exhaustless; and surveys of the continent had shown that the railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific could be made with fewer engineering difficulties, and with easier gradients, through the British territory than

on the southern side of the frontier line. It was no rash prophecy, therefore, which declared that the new colony would contain within itself the Liverpool of the Pacific, that New Westminster would be the link between the eastern and the western world, and the port from which all the wealth of North America would be shipped. Not less promising were the prospects of the Church. For the first time in the history of our colonies the episcopate had been given to it almost simultaneously with its formation into a colony. A clergyman had been consecrated, already known and proved in arduous spheres of work in England, possessing many friends and singular power of attracting people to himself. The incomes of the bishop and of two archdeacons had been provided by the munificence of one wealthy person, and the eloquence of the bishop, together with the interest that surrounded a new colony of such great promise, had raised a very large fund for missionary purposes, independent of the grants made to the diocese by the societies in England.

It must be confessed that the commercial prosperity, so reasonably expected, has not yet been enjoyed. The colony has gone through more than one commercial crisis. The capital needed for the development of its resources has not been forthcoming. San Francisco is still the Liverpool of the Pacific, and the only railway communication across the whole continent is on the southern side of the frontier. Now that Columbia has become part of the Dominion of Canada, it will no doubt soon derive the benefit of such amalgamation, and the sanguine hopes of its earlier settlers will be to some extent realised. Nor can it be denied that the fortunes of the Church have been not dissimilar from those of the colony. The crises which troubled the one have troubled the other. Probably no colonial Church has had such large means placed at its disposal with at present so little results. The large investments in land, which were

made with provident care when land was cheap, have not been advantageous, although the property may one day become valuable; and the failure of the means expected from these sources has led the bishop to return twice to this country—first in 1863-4, and again in 1869-71—to undertake the irksome task of raising money. After more than twelve years of work, it is unsatisfactory to notice that in the whole diocese, which is as large as both France and England, there are only eleven clergy, of whom nine are supported, wholly or partially, by societies in England, and two by endowments, and that out of a population of 65,000 the members of the Church of England do not number 3,000. The labours of the clergy, especially in the districts outside the limits of the towns, have been very arduous. In the early days of the colony, when the gold fever was at its height, the population, driven into the towns for the severe winter, would migrate *en masse* to the diggings in the spring, and the clergy accompanied them. Thus in 1862 the bishop himself spent six weeks among the miners. The society was the very roughest conceivable. The "ne'er-do-weels" of all the earth seemed to be gathered together. One of the clergy, finding not a soul come to church, stood outside a drinking-saloon, and boldly denounced the wickedness of the people. The yells with which he was received were like those of Pandemonium; but, doubting his own wisdom, he continued to deliver his testimony, and retired half convinced that he had done foolishly. Yet the bold words, sternly uttered, had their effect at least on one of the gamblers present, who became a firm ally of the man who had without fear borne witness to the truth.

The mode of journeying was thus described by the bishop: "You will see a man with stout country shoes, corduroy trousers, a coloured woollen shirt, a leather strap round his waist, and an axe upon his shoulder; he is driving

before him a mule or horse laden with packs of blankets, a tent, bacon, a sack of flour, a coffee-pot, a kettle, and a frying-pan. He is a pioneer of the Gospel on his way to the mines 500 miles a-head. He has considerable trouble as he goes along. He has the forests to go through, and fallen trees are constantly in his path; for these he has to use his axe. He comes to a swamp, in which his animal sticks fast; he has to take the pack off, wading himself into the swamp in order to do it; he has to carry the pack to some dry place, and then take the animal out and re-pack. It takes half-an-hour to pack a horse properly, and is a difficult business. He comes at length to his camping-ground; he takes off the pack, leads the horse to water, and turns him out to feed; he fills his kettle at the stream, and having cut down a tree and made a fire with some of the branches, he puts it on the fire. He will then cut poles and pegs, pitch his tent, unroll his blankets, and make his bed. The water having become hot, he takes his pan, and with flour from his sack begins to make some bread. He will make two cakes the size of the inside of the frying-pan; he turns the bread over and over in the pan, then puts it beside the fire, before a large stone, to rise. After the bread is made you will see him cutting pieces off his bacon, and then begins his principal meal. While so engaged the Indians will come round him and take their seats. The meal over, and the things packed up, he proceeds to instruct the Indians, and long after dark you will see the crowd sitting round the fire, which casts a glare upon their faces; or if there are no Indians, he will go off to a camp at some distance, where he finds a party of men travelling the same way, and proposes that they shall have service. They look at him and wonder who he is, as he has no signs of his office in his dress, but looks like one of themselves; but they have no objection, and he

begins his service. By-and-bye you will hear the sound of prayer, and the evening hymn closes all."

Life at a mining-station in Columbia is indeed life in the rough. Well is it that men are found, with faith and zeal, to lead such lives, and to keep up their spirits and energies cheerily under so many discomforts. The labours of the Rev. J. Reynard at Cariboo are more full of romance than the wildest fiction. In 1869 he moved from Victoria to Cariboo, some 350 miles up the Fraser River. Here was a mining population of 4,000, made up of many nationalities, English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Canadians, Americans, Australians, French, Austrians, Italians, Indians, and Chinese. With the exception of a few women, who were no gain to any society, the population was composed wholly of men. It was among this people, then, that Mr. Reynard determined to work. The day before he started the bishop received a brief telegram from the chief justice: "They will starve." This was followed by a letter, in which the judge showed that £500 per annum at Cariboo would not keep Mr. Reynard and his family in food and fuel; but before the letter arrived Mr. Reynard was on his way to Baskerville, the principal settlement. Here he found the statements as to the dearness of living all too true. He was a man of many resources, and he set to work at once and built himself a cottage outside the town, into which he moved in a few weeks. Services he had held in a saloon, throwing himself entirely on the people, and the offertory averged half-a-dollar a-head. A really earnest feeling had been created, and a fund for building a church had been opened, when a fire swept away the whole place. Mr. Reynard's cottage was outside the town, and so was saved; but all his appliances—books, benches, lamps, &c.—were gone, and the burnt-out people were not in a condition to replace them. Moreover, winter was close at hand. Nevertheless, he did

not lose heart, but remained at his post. He was clergyman, architect, physician, schoolmaster, musician, besides turning his hand to the manifold domestic duties which must be done, whether by servants or otherwise; and at the mines there are no servants. The Church of St. Saviour's was formally opened in September, 1870; but many had been the trials of the missionary before that result was accomplished. In January the hitherto mild winter changed, and "at a leap" the thermometer went down and the mercury froze. At this inopportune moment Mr. Reynard's fuel failed. In the fall he had bought a lot of logs, and had "slid them down from the hill-top." They were at some distance from the house, and buried by seven or eight feet of snow. In the bitter cold this poor clergyman turned out, mined into the snow, and dragged a week's fuel home. The last log fell on his right hand, benumbed as it was with cold, and bruised it, so as to render it almost useless for many months. But church and school were never interrupted, and Mr. Reynard's son, a little lad of ten, gave out the books, while his father with his left hand made up the fire. The books stuck to the child's fingers, so intense was the frost. His father wrote: "He would come to me laughing, while his teeth chattered like castanets, with a book hanging from his open palm. On reaching home I found one of my feet frost-bitten, black, and the skin peeled off, and now I felt beaten—cold, maimed hand and foot, for the first time incapable of work." Was it to be wondered at?

The winter became more severe in February, and in that month his fifth child was born, the cold making life all the harder. "In a room twelve feet by ten, with fire burning night and day, and seven persons living in it, a bottle of wine froze, hoar frost covered the windows, nail-heads looked like English daisies, the boards cracked like pistol-shots,

and the knots flew out with great noise." But through all this heavy time Mr. Reynard kept working among, and winning the hearts of, his people. Five nights in every week he held school, one evening being devoted to music, until the choruses from the "Messiah" and "Judas Maccabæus," and favourite glees and madrigals, became familiar sounds on the Cariboo mountain-sides. "Music made the winter fly," the miners said; and therefore it is little wonder that on Easter-day the grateful fellows came to church, and hailed Mr. Reynard's son, who was collecting their alms, with the cheery but unconventional "Here, Georgie," as they put their dollars into the dish.

In British Columbia there are more Indians than are to be found in the whole of America, east of the Rocky Mountains. The tribes are numerous, and each has its own language or dialect. Four missions, carried on for the benefit of these aborigines, are very interesting: two are on the Fraser River, directly north of Victoria, viz., those of Yale and Hope, under the Rev. D. Holmes, and Lytton and Lilloet, under the Rev. J. B. Good; the third far away to the north-west, among the Tsimsean Indians, at Metlakatla; and the fourth, which has been recently established in the same region at Kincolith, among the Nishkah Indians.

The Lytton Mission grew out of the one established at Yale and Hope, Mr. Good having received a request from the Thompson Indians to visit them. The opening seemed so propitious that he moved thither some five years ago, and after a residence of three years formed a permanent station, as far removed as possible from the whites. In this immense district there are many thousands of catechumens and converts, varying in spiritual growth from the level of scarcely-renounced Paganism to that of full membership of the Church. The labours of building up a body

of converts thus diverse is very great. Mr. Good has to travel far and near, and he has been much hampered by lack of means and by the hindrances thrown in his way by the rough white population who pass through Lytton *en route* to the gold-fields. His method of working is necessarily unconventional. His services with his catechumens are not in accordance with the Act of Uniformity. Thus he breaks up the prayer of David into short petitions, the people repeating each clause after him: (1) "O God, try me," (2) "Search the ground of my heart," (3) "Prove me," (4) "Examine my thoughts," &c. The 15th Psalm, "Lord, who shall dwell," &c., is a frequent devotional exercise, the clergyman asking the questions, and the people giving in reply the signs of the people of God: "He that leadeth an uncorrupt life," &c. This teaching "line upon line, precept upon precept," is found to be the only way of impressing on the minds of a people emerging from barbarism the truths of Christianity.

The aim which Mr. Good has set before himself has been to build these people up into a Church, which shall leaven the whole land, if God will, without interfering with the native customs in the matter of clothing, food, and dwellings, except when they conflict with morality and religion. Thus he visits them in their "keekeollies," or subterranean houses, which are twenty feet deep, and reached only by a notched pole in the centre, as well as in their summer huts. He feels that with Christianity there will come as much of civilisation as is necessary for them, and he contents himself with making Christians of them and is not careful to Europeanise them. The rule of this diocese seems to be that catechumens remain unbaptized for a very long time, and that they are admitted in large numbers into the fold by the bishop alone. It would be presumptuous on the part of those who are unacquainted with the circumstances to

criticise this regulation, but during the protracted absences of the bishop in England large numbers have remained for long periods unbaptized, and some have died in that condition.

The principle on which the mission at Metlakatla has been conducted is wholly distinct from that on which Mr. Good has worked. In the first place, Mr. Duncan, to whom alone the mission owes its existence, is a layman, trained at Highbury for the work of a schoolmaster. His work is simply without a parallel, and bears ample testimony to the genius of its originator. It was in 1857 that Mr. Duncan, sent out by the Church Missionary Society, was stationed at Fort Simpson, on the borders of what was then known as Russian America. An attempt to work among the Indians at Victoria he had previously abandoned as hopeless, on account of the presence of depraved white people. The natives at Fort Simpson, between 2,000 and 3,000 in number, he found to be sunk in more than average barbarism. They were as superior in intelligence to those of Victoria as they excelled them in immorality. Cannibalism was not merely a custom, but it found a place among their religious rites. For some time he applied himself to the study of the language, and the experience gained during this process taught him that he could do little with them while they were in daily intercourse with the white people attracted to an Indian trading-fort. The ill-will of the native sorcerers and medicine-men, as well as of European whisky-sellers, made itself felt. Accordingly, Mr. Duncan determined to settle at Metlakatla, a beautiful spot, with commodious harbour, seventeen miles distant. He laid his plans before the Indians, some of whom were anxious to return to the place where they had been born, but others hankered after the flesh-pots of town-life. In May, 1862, about fifty Indians started in their canoes with Mr. Duncan,

others promised to follow, and now the settlement numbers about 500 Christian Indian residents, besides being a centre of attraction to thousands of visitors.

Mr. Duncan has shown that he possesses qualities which would fit him to be governor of a rising colony. He has no doubt a strong will (one of the great secrets of success, if only men knew it), and the settlement has derived great benefit from the exercise of a firm and Christian despotism. Nothing but a strong will and indomitable energy could have accomplished what is now to be seen at Metlakatla. Regular streets were laid out, and roads made by statute labour; the wretched Indian huts were forbidden, and well-built frame houses took their place; each house had its cooking-stove and its clock, with its garden adjoining, and its potato-ground outside the village. When a savage turns amateur gardener, heathenism has nearly lost its hold upon him. Mr. Duncan was made a justice of the peace by the governor, and thus he had legal as well as moral force at his service. The latter was used almost exclusively for the Indians; by the former he kept at a distance the whisky traders and other immoral folks, who would have negatived all his labours in a community whose Christianity was a plant of so modern and tender a growth. He found his Tsimpshean people had very artistic tastes, and could carve in ivory, wood, and stone, as well as produce good results as jewellers: he, therefore, set them up in these trades. To prevent dealings with objectionable people he opened a store in the village, where all requisites could be bought; and in a little while he proposed to the Indians that they should buy a schooner, in shares, which should trade to and from Victoria, and be manned by themselves. This also was accomplished, and the vessel, on some trips, would return a profit of several hundred pounds.

The internal government of the settlement was admirably

managed by this same despotic authority. Mr. Duncan built a gaol and police-station, dressing his native officials in a proper uniform. Mindful of hospitality, and yet not wishing the clean houses of the settlement to be contaminated, or the morals of the people to be lowered by intercourse with travelling Indians, a guest-house was provided by the settlement at the general expense. Having thus proved the capacity of the Indians for commerce and Christianity, this zealous missionary returned to England to acquire for himself a knowledge of certain crafts, and to obtain some machinery; and then, like another Peter the Great, he returned to instruct his people in the new arts which he had acquired.

How long this Utopian condition may be preserved in Metlakatla is doubtful. It cannot continue for ever: it ought not to do so. General traffic and commerce will force their way into the peaceful and contented settlement, and bring their attendant evils; but it may be hoped that by the time they come the people will have been confirmed and strengthened in character, and be able to withstand the temptations. Strict prohibitory laws on the observance of Sunday and on the importation of spirits will never permanently make a devout or a temperate people, however desirable they may be among a body of Christians but just brought to the truth, and only learning the difficult art of self-restraint.

While teaching them so much which must benefit them socially, Mr. Duncan has given no secondary place to Christian teaching; indeed, he has been indefatigable in this respect. Nevertheless, it seems rather anomalous that this mission, from its very foundation in 1862, should have been wholly under a layman, who conducts their services, preaches three times every Sunday, and baptizes the sick, and should depend, for the regular administration of the

Sacraments and the benefits of an ordained ministry, on the occasional visits of the bishop or one of the clergy. It is a remarkable and encouraging fact, that in this and the other districts covered by our missionaries, crimes are so rare, that hardly once in two years is an Indian brought before the magistrates. There can scarcely be a stronger contrast than between this state of order and the notorious degradation in which the uncivilised Indians live.

XLI.

We can write the history of scarcely one of our missions without making the painful and humiliating admission that we have come late into the field; that possibly English or American Nonconformists, certainly that Roman Catholics, have anticipated us. Without going out of our way to discuss the teaching of those missionaries, still less to exaggerate the doings of all other bodies, as is the fashion with writers who love to depreciate the missions of our own Church and times, we cannot but admire the zeal, the self-sacrifice, the patient labour, the utterly unworldly spirit, for which the missionaries of the Roman Church are so deservedly remarkable; amid our own lack of means and of men, our difficulties in the way of extending our episcopate, we may be excused if we envy the discipline of that Church and the obedience of its sons, who are prepared "to go anywhere and to do anything" at the bidding of their superiors, unshackled by family ties and by domestic cares, indifferent to stipend, not counting their lives dear unto them, indeed rather courting death and suffering than shrinking from them. Something will presently be said of the system on which these missions are now conducted and the training which the missionaries receive; but first we must go back some three centuries. The earlier efforts of the Roman Church were made under the direction of Christian sovereigns, and were not shared by all ranks and conditions of the people. The crowns of Portugal and of

Spain pledged themselves to spread the Gospel in those countries which the enterprise of their people were discovering; and their labours in India have been already mentioned with honour. They found also fields of work in the Philippine Islands and in South America: just in the same way France carried to Canada in the north, and to Louisiana in the south, the Christianity which, in one form or another, has now occupied the whole of North America. There came a time, however, when the conviction forced itself on the Roman communion that a Church, which claimed the whole world for its heritage, should not leave to kings and to statesmen the task of enforcing that claim, but that all classes within its pale should undertake the work. It was a true and wise conception, but it took two centuries to bring it into a practical shape. In 1663 the Abbé Paulmyer, Canon of Bayeux, submitted to Pope Alexander VII. a scheme for a missionary society, consisting of all classes of people, for the conversion of "*le troisième monde.*" It was intended that every member of the Church should contribute regularly to this association, and that each and all should regard its work as his own; but the good Abbé died, and his idea was not realised. Another century passed away, and then an association was formed of persons willing to give prayers and alms for the conversion of the infidels; this languished for a while, and was finally extinguished amid the unbelief of the eighteenth century and the blasphemies of the French Revolution. In 1815 Bishop Dubourg, recently consecrated at Rome Bishop of New Orleans, stopped at the city of Lyons, to the charity of whose inhabitants he had been commended. Weighed down, as many colonial bishops have since been, by the needs of his diocese and his inability to supply them, he proposed that the Church in Lyons should specially devote themselves to aiding his work in America: an example, by

the way, which has since been followed by bishops of our communion. In the following year the directors of the "*Seminaire des Missions Etrangères*" published the great necessities of the Church in foreign lands, and endeavoured to revive the association which had been formed a hundred years before for the conversion of infidels, and which had died a natural death. In 1820 a poor girl of Lyons, earning her daily bread as a weaver, received a letter from her brother, a student at the College of St. Sulpice, who urged her to get her friends to give one sou weekly for the support of the seminary. These three circumstances—the visit of the Bishop of New Orleans to Lyons, the appeal of the directors of the seminary, and the effort of a poor girl, in a station of life only on a level with that of a mill "hand" in England—produced the association known as "La Propagation de la Foi," which raises the whole of the money with which the widely-extended missions of the Roman Church are supported. It is a testimony to the power of "pence"—a power which Nonconformists in England fully recognise, and to which they are largely indebted for their financial success, but a power of which English Churchmen as yet know very little. The association was in 1822 established on a broader basis, and was put under authority. The Bishop of New Orleans was not allowed to obtrude his needs to the exclusion or to the disparagement of other dioceses: very wisely, the disposal of the funds was placed in the hands of a council, who could equitably assess the needs of different parts of the world. No man can be a judge in his own case; a missionary whose whole heart is in his work is apt to think that his own field is the most necessitous in the world, and if he have powers of description, and often visits the mother Church, many persons will be found ready to agree with him; his story is like a Chinese picture, which is void of perspective: he

thinks of, and labours for, his own field and ignores others, and his hearers, who have no special knowledge of the subject as a whole, naturally are led by the statements of the first missionary who impresses them. It was therefore in 1822, as it still continues to be, a wise principle to discourage the direct applications of missionaries, whose statements must be partial and imperfect, and to leave the allotment of the alms of the faithful to a responsible council, who can equitably proportion means to needs. The association thus formed at Lyons, and whose beginnings were so humble, soon grew: province after province joined; then Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal; three hundred bishops were enrolled among its members, and in 1840 Gregory XVI. issued an encyclical letter which commended the association to all the churches of the Roman obedience. Its income exceeds £200,000 per annum, and is supplied not only by the congregations of Europe, but by those of Asia, Africa, North and South America, and Oceania; but two-thirds of it come from France, and recently it has suffered much from the financial difficulties of that country. Its grants are distributed among more than 500 dioceses, its subscribers are more than 1,500,000, and its "Annals" and "Lettres Edifiantes," which keep the world informed of its doings, are widely circulated. Two councils, sitting the one at Lyons and the other at Paris, manage its affairs: it is strictly an association for raising funds and for stirring up sympathy with missionary work; but with the direction of missions, the choice and training of missionaries, it has nothing directly to do. It must be remembered that none of these countries have the vast foreign dependencies which England possesses, that the claims from struggling colonists are rarely received by them, that no subject India, with millions of heathen, calls on them for evangeli-

sation, that they are poor countries, that France especially is heavily taxed, and therefore the monies which they devote to the conversion of the heathen are given simply from motives of a religious character, uninfluenced by political considerations.

The same authorities who decry the missions of our Church and age, are often extravagant in their admiration of the system which trains the evangelists and apostles of the Roman Church. The system may be the best in itself for the people who are concerned with it, and its results may be eminently successful; but it by no means follows that it would flourish if transplanted to another country and to another Church, or that what may suit one race of the human family will suit all. The great seminary in which the missionaries of the Church of Rome are trained is of course that which is connected with the congregation *de propagandâ fide* at Rome. More than two hundred years ago the then Pope established this college in the Eternal City, in the hope of supplying the loss of the many clerical colleges which throughout Europe had deserted from the Roman communion. Its endowments support about 150 students, about one-third of whom are youths of colour of every shade—Chinese, Singhalese, Negroes, Sioux and Cree Indians, Thibetians, each of whom retains his own language, while the colloquial speech of the college is Italian. The exhibition, so well known, which is given in the college on each Epiphany, is one of surpassing interest. It was originated by Cardinal Mezzofanti, who was wont to conduct it in person, and its glories have hardly lessened since his decease. For three hours some forty or fifty of the elder students recite, declaim, or sing, every man in his own tongue, in the presence of many ecclesiastical dignitaries and of not a few foreigners, who are attracted by curiosity to a spectacle so unique. Hardly inferior in

importance and in the number of its students is the "*Seminaire des Missions Etrangères*" attached to the church of St. Francis Xavier in Paris. In twenty years the number of its "postulants" has grown from 25 to 150: they are taken, not from the outside world, but from the clerical seminaries, whose tutors select from their pupils such as exhibit signs of the missionary vocation. The director states that as the "postulants" almost always come to the seminaire against the wishes of their parents, no charge is made, neither is any payment expected for their food, tuition, or clothing. The maximum age of admission is thirty-five, but students generally enter about twenty; they must have finished the requisite amount of Latin studies, and have passed through a course of philosophy. They are trained in dogmatic and moral theology, the divine canon, and Scripture; and they also go through a liturgical course. They do not acquire any medical knowledge, and it has never occurred to the authorities that it would be desirable that future missionaries should be able to ride and to swim, and should be possessed of some mechanical skill; the education is strictly a clerical one. If in any particular mission it is thought necessary to work a printing-press, a student is directed to learn as much as is required to enable him to teach a native, but such an accomplishment is altogether apart from the regular course of instruction. Some forty missionaries go forth from the gates of this institution annually. No doubt the training which they have received has prepared them to endure hardness; the long probation, extending ordinarily over ten years at the Propaganda and three years at Paris, the weary round of duties, the discipline which punishes the slightest breach of the rule of silence at meals with a bread-and-water diet, which limits recreation to walking in double file like a village school going to church—this kind of existence, if

it does not produce some terrible reaction, no doubt leads the way to self-abnegation and self-immolation. In the seminary at Paris the training possesses another element of depression. In a certain room the students spend a quarter of an hour daily for the purpose of meditation: on the walls are hung pictures which detail with extreme minuteness the tortures and sufferings of those who have laid down their lives for the truth; beneath the pictures are the relics of the departed. At one place there are a few bones preserved under glass; at another is a box with similar contents, but hermetically sealed and unopened since its arrival from China; the rope with which one was strangled, the clothes which another wore at the time of his death, the "discipline" with which another tortured himself: these are the materials with which the future missionaries prepare themselves for the work which they have adopted as their own. It was training such as this which prepared those brave missionaries in the Corea for the deaths which they suffered so recently as 1866. The feeling against these missionaries was begotten of political, not of religious causes; in 1839 three French missionaries had been beheaded, and their successors, twenty-seven years later, knew that a similar fate might be their own. Bishop Berneux, the head of the mission, was warned and urged to seek safety in flight. "But," said he, "if they take me, there they will stop; but if I flee, they will pursue me, and the persecution will become general." His coadjutor bishop was of the same mind. One by one, nine of these French missionaries were executed in the presence of the survivors, who had shared the tortures to which they were previously subjected. The news of their constancy was brought to France, and in the city of Amiens, which had given birth to one of them, it was received as men receive tidings of victory. In the cathedral a thanksgiving service was offered

to God, who had chosen for the glory of martyrdom one whom they all knew; and, this service ended, the whole city was *en fête* for the rest of the day; neither did it end thus, for others came forward and volunteered for the very work in which their brethren had fallen.

A system that produces fruits such as these must not recklessly be condemned; but it will never command the approbation of Englishmen. We are not surprised to learn that everything in the internal economy of these seminaries speaks of prompt obedience and order, but—still more—of sadness and depression. Such an existence is fatal to all spring and buoyancy of spirit; it must reduce men to the condition of machines, of machines indeed that may accomplish results which challenge our veneration, but which must still increase our sorrow for the machines themselves; and this it is, probably, which accounts for what is patent among the Roman missionaries, viz., that their aim is rather to die for Christ than to live for Him and to preach Him. It would seem that heathenism is regarded as a fortress, which will yield at last, when many generations of missionaries have flung themselves against its ramparts and have perished in the attempt. Such a plan witnesses to the bravery rather than to the skill of the besiegers.

Not thus, forsooth, would we have our missionaries trained; indeed, we could not if we would, for the Anglo-Saxon mind would either rebel at the system or collapse beneath its burden. A man will make none the less faithful an evangelist, nor, if need be, a less fearless confessor, for having been trained under brighter influences and amid the healthy discipline of a more social life; his mind and his body alike will be more braced, and become more likely to endure the wear and tear of a missionary career. We may not have as many tales of actual martyrdom to recount as are found in the annals of other communions, but among

the missionaries of the present day there are men prepared to do and suffer whatever they may be called upon to do and suffer. May their number be increased!

The Church of Rome does not alone possess the power of evoking the missionary spirit and of commanding men for the work. Some eighteen years ago a Lutheran pasteur, named Schauffler, had two sons at the missionary college at Basle. The elder left for the Gold Coast, where he found an early grave. The father wrote to his surviving son, "Thy brother is with God; it is time you thought of Africa. Go and ask the inspector to let you fill up the vacancy caused by your brother's death." To the committee the father wrote in similar terms, and implored them, though the dead were as numerous as in the trenches before Sevastopol (for it was during the Russian war that he wrote), never to withdraw from Africa. Zeal is not the special attribute of any one nation or church.

XLII.

The English Church is under such deep obligations to the missions of Eastern Christendom for the spiritual illumination of this country ages before the arrival of St. Augustine, and probably for the favour with which that mission was received and for the open field which was presented to it, that it must be a pleasant task to an Englishman to record the efforts of that venerable Church from which his own spiritual life has been derived. Her labours for the spread as well as for the defence of the faith were indeed for many centuries unwearied and unsurpassed, but it is in days gone by, and not in the present era, that her distinctly missionary efforts have been the grandest, and her triumphs the most evident. In the words of her enthusiastic and learned historian, her envoys "pitched their tents in the camps of the wandering Tartar: the Lama of Thibet trembled at their words; they stood in the rice-fields of the Penjab, and taught the fishermen by the Sea of Aral; they struggled through the vast deserts of Mongolia: the memorable inscription of Siganfou attests their victories in China: in India the Zamorin himself respected their spiritual and courted their temporal authority. From the Black Sea to the Caspian the monks of Etchmiadzine girded themselves for this holy warfare: they braved alike the Pagan and the fire-worshipper, the burning suns of Tiflis and the feverish swamps of Imeretia;

they subjugated the border lands of Europe and Asia, and planted a colony half-way up the great Ararat.

"Southward, Alexandria sent forth another army of missionaries. Steering through the trackless deserts by sun and stars, they preached the Gospel as far as the fountains of the Nile, and planted flourishing churches in Nubia and Abyssinia. Solitary monks ventured further into the kingdom of Satan: through the savage Gallas they passed to Melinda or Zanguebar; others, committing themselves to the merchant vessels, preached the way of salvation to Cape Guardafui, Zocotra, and distant Ceylon. Here the two great armies of Christian warriors met, having embraced a quarter of the then known world in their holy circle." *

Their efforts northwards, although later in date, eclipsed all others: the conversion of Russia was on a scale unparalleled in any age, and the capabilities of an empire which extend from the Pacific to the Atlantic are almost too vast to be realised: it was towards the close of the tenth century, some eighty years before the Norman Conquest, that Vladimir, a Russian prince, although himself of Western origin, was brought to the confession of the truth. Many had tried to win and to persuade him, but in vain. For years he clung tenaciously to the heathenism in which he had been brought up; some of his people accepted the teaching of the Greek missionaries, but he was unmoved. Mahometans, Jews, and Bulgarians, which last represented Western Christianity and the Papal authority, each in turn set forth the claims of their respective religions, but to each he objected, and adhered the more resolutely to his heathenism: but what others had failed to do was at length accomplished by a Greek philosopher. The whole story of biblical and ecclesiastical history was laid before him: pictures

* *History of the Holy Eastern Church.* By the late Rev. John Mason Neale. Introduction. Vol. i. pp. 3 and 4.

were used to illustrate the narrative: the "Icon" of the last judgment, which showed the conditions of those on the left hand and of those on the right, moved him to say, "Happy are those on the right;—woe to the sinners on the left." Not yet, however, was he convinced; he only determined to inquire further concerning this new creed: messengers were sent as a sort of royal commission to investigate the religious systems of other lands. Romans, Germans, Bulgarians, were inspected in turn, and each failed to satisfy the strangers; at length they came to Constantinople: St. Sophia was then the most splendid shrine in Christendom: the sanctuary ablaze with lights, the Patriarch in his gorgeous vestments, seen dimly through the smoke of the incense, the processions of deacons and sub-deacons, in white robes and bearing torches in their hands, the humiliation of the people as they fell on their knees with one accord and sang "Kyrie Eleeson," these were sights which at once subdued the Russian envoys: they believed that they had seen angels taking visible part in the services of the sanctuary, and the Christians encouraged them in their delusion: they returned to their northern home with one conviction firmly impressed on them, viz., that happen what might, it was impossible that they should remain as they were. Vladimir was not at once baptized; there were political and mundane considerations connected with his ultimate acceptance of Christianity, which painfully detract from the interest of such an event. He vowed to become a Christian if the city of Cherson, which he was besieging, fell into his hands; he had also demanded the hand of the Princess Anne, the sister of the Emperor Basil. At length he was baptized; and in autocratic fashion ordered his followers to be baptized also. The wooden idol of Peroun, the god of war, to which human sacrifices had been offered during the current reign, was hurled into the waters of the Borysthenes,

and into the same stream the people stepped down and were baptized.

It is not thus that we would wish to see the nations converted and gathered into the fold: what may be the value of such conversions it is not hard to say, and indeed the Erastianism of the Church of Russia under its present constitution is still one of its most objectionable features. The sacred and the secular are so intermingled that even its very missions are not free from the imputation of being maintained from political rather than from higher motives. The sight, however, of the baptism of his people seems to have impressed Vladimir, who, with new-born enthusiasm, exclaimed, "O Great God, look on these Thy new people! Grant them, O Lord, to know Thee, the only true God, as Thou hast been made known to Christian lands, and confirm in them a true and unfailing faith; and assist me, O Lord, against my enemy that opposes me, that I may overcome all his wiles."

A church was built on the spot consecrated by so remarkable an event, and whatever may have been his original motive in being baptized, the grace of the sacrament was diligently cultivated, and a remarkable change was apparent in Vladimir's subsequent career. Christian education forced its way northwards: the cities of Moscow and Kieff and Vladimir had each their metropolitan; conquering and to conquer, the Christian soldiers went forward, and tribe after tribe was brought out of darkness. The Ural Mountains were no impassable barrier: Siberia received them, and Chinese Tartary heard their message.

The missions of the Russian branch of the Eastern Church, although neither as numerous nor as extended as could be desired, appear now to be conducted thoroughly and wisely. Under the Emperor Nicolas, all foreign missionaries were ordered out of the country, and the circulation of the

Scriptures in the vernacular was forbidden; his successor promotes the missionary spirit in the clergy, and encourages the distribution of the Holy Scriptures. In Siberia the missions are under the direction of a bishop, and the Mongolian translation of portions of the Bible, made many years ago by English missionaries, is used. The method of teaching the people is more patient, and their instruction is more thorough than was once the case: the pious Russians of fifty years ago persuaded their heathen neighbours to be baptized, and in an aristocratic country, whose serfs were but the other day emancipated, such conversions can be obtained easily and on a large scale. It must ever be a point of conscience with an evangelist, who represents either a superior civilisation or a dominant race, to take care that the influence of his accidental position is not unduly exercised: the English missionaries in India are often tried by the ready way in which natives acquiesce in whatever "the Sahib" asserts. Among the Russians, to whom to command is natural, these precautions were not taken, and the Christianity of the Siberian converts not only commenced, but too often ended, with their baptism: many never saw a Bible, unless it were the old Sclavonic copy kept in the church; now they are carefully trained, and are able to give a reason of the hope that is in them.

Of late years there has grown up in the hearts of many members of the Anglican and the Eastern Churches an earnest desire for inter-communion and Christian sympathy. Wherever the missions of the two bodies meet on heathen ground, their work will be much facilitated, if that desire can be gratified, for on it depends whether they meet as strangers and rivals, each bidding against the other for the conversion of the heathen, or as brethren. The missionaries of our own Church have not been brought so much in contact with the Greek clergy as have our American brethren,

as well in Asia as in the North Western districts of their own continent. Since 1684 the Chinese Emperors have allowed the descendants of a Cossack colony to have a settlement and their own church at Pekin; and the zeal which is now impelling the Russian Church to evangelise the almost boundless steppes and valleys of Asia, will probably bring their outposts face to face with the growing missions of the American Church in these regions. Again, in the country known until recently as Russian America, but now the dominion of the United States, and in California, where a considerable Russian colony has been established, the two Churches have been brought into intimate relations, and the zeal of the Russian clergy in dealing with the 75,000 Indians in Alaska has been warmly acknowledged by their American brethren. The mission in Kamschatka, which was entered upon by the present Metropolitan of Moscow in 1823, and superintended by him until his translation in 1868, has survived many difficulties, and has drawn forth a martyr spirit among the clergy, not a few of whom have died at their post. In this Arctic region and amid these Polar churches, there are, besides the bishop, just thirty priests, with between forty and fifty oratories and chapels. The missions in China have already been mentioned, both in earlier papers and in the present one: under the archimandrite who now has charge of them they seem to have received a fresh vigour, and are likely to have great influence over the heathen tribes in whose midst they are planted. Much more, however, may fairly be expected from the several branches of the Eastern Church than we at present witness: more men, more means, larger efforts, and, if God will, larger results. With some of these churches the first duty is at home, and they seem gradually to be realising the necessity of educating their clergy, of inquiring into the belief and practices of other churches, and of seeking to be freed from

the superstitions which have grown up around themselves; but from the Church of Russia, with the prestige of that mighty nation and of Imperial care—not, it is to be allowed, an unmixed advantage—much more may be expected. It seems to be her function to say to the East, "Give up; and to the South, Keep not back." May she rise to the sublime career that is before her!

XLIII.

ALLUSION has been frequently made in these pages to the missionary labours of the Moravian Brethren. Wherever the circumstances of a country seem to mark it as one of peculiar difficulty to missionaries, there the Moravians, with chivalrous devotion, seem gladly to have stationed themselves; any book, therefore, which professes to treat of modern missions, would be very incomplete if it contained no notice of a body of missionaries so earnest, so self-denying, and so successful.

The origin of the "Church of the United Brethren," as this body loves to style itself, is a matter of uncertainty, and consequently of dispute. They claim for themselves a descent from the Sclavonian branch of the Eastern Church, and an uninterrupted succession of bishops from apostolic times. Two Greek ecclesiastics, Cyrillus and Methodius, introduced Christianity into Moravia and Bohemia in the ninth century. The persecutions which fell on these people during the long struggles between Eastern and Western Christendom well-nigh extinguished the "*Unitas Fratrum*" which had been formed by the Moravians, Bohemians, and Waldenses, but in all their synods, and at other times, the maintenance of a regular succession of ministers had been a question much agitated and discussed, and in the middle of the seventeenth century one Amos Comenius was consecrated bishop in Poland, to which country he had fled with the persecuted remnant of his followers, and there set himself to the task

of rebuilding his Church. He appealed for help to "all the Protestant princes in Europe," and English sympathy was shown by the issue, in 1715, of an Order in Council "for the relief and for preserving the Episcopal Churches in Great Poland and Polish Russia." Notwithstanding their claim to be an Apostolic Church, confirmed, too, as it was by Archbishop Potter in the last century, the grounds on which that claim rests are not very distinct. They boast themselves as having been "Protestants before Luther, and a Reformed Church before the Reformation," and they accept the Confession of Augsberg as the exposition of their creed. Those who reject their claims to possess the apostolical succession, date the origin of the brotherhood from 1722, when the refugees from Bohemia and Moravia formed themselves into a religious society in Silesia under Nicholas Lewis, Count of Zinzendorf. This remarkable man had been possessed with a life-long passion for mission work, shown even in his childhood by the establishment among his schoolfellows, at Halle, of "The Order of the Mustard Seed," by which these lads pledged themselves to spread the Gospel at home and abroad. On the estates of this nobleman the brethren, driven from city to city, found peace, protection, and sympathy. A tract of forest land was given to them by the Count, and on this they built their primitive home; they had to fell the trees in order to clear the ground, and to provide materials for their houses; but in time "Hermhut" (the watch of the Lord) became a city set on a hill. It attracted many of the persecuted brethren from other lands, until the settlement numbered 600 souls, and it became a centre of light to all the most distant and darkened parts of the world: for from the first these pious souls, for the most part unlearned in all things save their several handicrafts, felt under a constraint to preach to the heathen the riches of Christ. It must be added, that for some 140 years they and their

successors have nobly obeyed the call; never consulting with flesh and blood, never building on other men's foundations, never shrinking from, but rather seeking, the most inclement regions and the most unpromising spheres, depending very often on their own labour for their maintenance, and always poorest among the poor, these faithful men have patiently laboured and prayed and preached, not regarding success, not dispirited by failure, noble types of what missionaries should be. We regret the imperfect and defective organisation and the isolated position which this brotherhood holds in the Christian world, but when we read of its missionary labours, we are bound to say, "*Cum talis sis, utinam noster esses.*"

It was in 1731 that they received what appeared to them the first providential call to missionary work. Count Zinzendorf had gone to Copenhagen to attend the coronation of Christian IV., and there he heard much of the miserable condition of the negro slaves in the island of St. Thomas, then, as now, a possession of the Danish crown. All aglow with sympathy and compassion, he returned to Herrnhut, where his tidings were like sparks applied to tinder. Amid the general longing to help, two young men specially volunteered for the work; one was a day-labourer, the other a potter. They were enthusiasts, no doubt, but they were not fanatics; they knew what they proposed to themselves, and the difficulties in their way, but they went in faith, full of courage, and upheld by the prayers of their brethren. Their "outfit" they carried in their hands, and they reached Copenhagen with eighteen shillings in their pockets; thence they worked their passage to the West Indies in a Danish vessel, and immediately commenced their labours among the slaves. In the following year, two brethren, actuated by the same spirit, set out for Greenland, and after six years saw the reward of their labours in the baptism of their first convert. This mission subsequently

became very helpful to those on the Labrador. Within ten years the brethren had established themselves at Surinam, in South America, the Cape of Good Hope, Western Africa, Algiers, and Ceylon; and in the educational work, whether at home or abroad, for which the Moravians are ever distinguished, the probability of each child becoming a missionary is steadily kept in view. All the members of this society are pledged to support its missions to the utmost of their power, and to take constant prayerful interest in its welfare and progress. At the present time there are ninety mission stations of the Moravians in Greenland, Labrador, North America, the West Indies, Surinam, Western Africa, the Cape, Australia, and Thibet. They number 315 "missionary agents," 1,371 "native assistants and overseers," and nearly 70,000 converts. The income by which these operations are sustained varies from £15,000 to £20,000 per annum, a portion of which is given by persons who, not belonging to the Moravian body, admire their zeal and devotion. How should they not?

Without professing to be ascetics, the Moravians have voluntarily endured hardness. Without aiming at a monastic life, and while strongly discouraging celibacy, they have lived in community and under discipline; while surrounded by the cares as well as by the joys of domestic life, they have been as little burdensome for their maintenance as ever celibate missionaries could be, for with their own trades and handicrafts they have maintained themselves and their missions. Constantly preaching and keeping schools, they have been the Dominicans of post-Reformation ages, for they have civilised their people and taught them in things useful for this life as well as for a future one; and in the matter of hospitality, no pilgrim ever found warmer welcome at monastery gate than these good brethren are always ready to extend. From all parts of the world the same testimony

is borne to their industry, their simplicity, and their devotion. In one of his early visitations (in 1850) of Kaffraria, Bishop Gray wrote,—"We arrived about 5 P.M. at the Moravian mission station of Shiloh. The good brethren received me most kindly, and the next morning I walked around their village and grounds. There is a vast superiority in the Moravian establishments, so far as civilisation and improvement are concerned, over all other institutions in the colony. There is more work done, greater industry, and a more rapid advance in agricultural and mechanical operations. There are two watercourses cut here, three miles long, which were full, even in this dreadful drought. The gardens were in excellent order, and abounded with a variety of fruit-trees, walnut, peach, apricot, vine, mulberry, apple, and pear. Some very large fields, all under irrigation, were fenced in with a willow hedge. The churchyard—a quiet, secluded, peaceful spot—was surrounded with an excellent quince fence. The oak and the willow were on every side. All seemed busy: I did not see any lying lazily about. Several very good mud houses were in course of erection. A Kafir was planing a door in the carpenter's shop. They showed me, with some pride, a bell they had just cast, made out of the hoops that surrounded some ammunition casks, left at the station during the last war. It was 45 lbs. in weight, and sounded well. It seemed to me an illustration of the promise, that 'the sword should be turned into the ploughshare and the spear into the pruning hook.'"

It was the recital of the doings of the Moravians in Greenland that induced Dr. Moffatt, then a Scotch gardener, to offer himself for missionary work in Africa, where he has laboured among heathen tribes for half a century. From Guiana and Australia the same report of patient toil among the most unpromising specimens of fallen humanity is brought.

Of two missions only, however, can mention now be made in the limited space at our command.

The mission to the Labrador was first proposed in the year 1750, by John Christian Ehrhardt, a sailor, who had received his earliest religious impressions from a Moravian brother in the West Indies. In 1749 he went a voyage to Greenland, where the Moravians had been working for sixteen years. Here he saw more of their labours, and, hearing of the heathen who lived on the other side of Davis's Straits, and understanding that they much resembled the Greenlanders, he urged on the society the duty of sending teachers to them. Application was made in the first instance to the Hudson's Bay Company, but that body, consistent with itself in the uniform policy of secluding their hunting-grounds from the outer world, refused all aid. A London merchant helped the brethren to fit out a vessel, which reached Nisbet Bay in safety. The Esquimaux were savage as Maoris proved half a century later in New Zealand, but, when addressed in Greenlandic, expressed pleasure at the visit of the strangers. Ehrhardt and six of the ship's company went ashore, having with them a large quantity of barter goods, but they never returned, the natives having fallen upon them and killed them, and after waiting some days the ship had to make her way to England.

Thus the first attempt to establish missions in the Labrador ended in failure, and in the deaths of seven pioneers. But the effort was not in vain. A humble man, Jens Haven, a carpenter, determined to take up the work. He spent two years in Greenland, in order to acquire the language, and then shipped as a carpenter on board one of the Hudson's Bay Company's vessels. The astonishment of the Esquimaux at being addressed by him in their own tongue was only equalled by the joy with which they welcomed a stranger who had such a bond of union with them. If they

knew anything about the fate of Ehrhardt and his companions they would not confess it. Many landings were effected, and much intercourse with the natives was held year by year; meanwhile three Esquimaux had been brought to England. The missionaries were preparing themselves for the work which lay before them, and in 1771 the permanent station at Nain was established. In five years' time another settlement was formed at Okak, still further north. The brethren had worked hard at the wooden house which was to shelter the labourers at the new mission, and the timbers were carried down and put together with great joy. In this year, 1776, the same day witnessed the dedication of the new church at Nain and the baptism of the first convert; this was an angekok or sorcerer, a member of a craft which exercised great power for evil over the people, and whose conversion, therefore, was the more remarkable. The work of these good men has now been carried on in Labrador for more than a century, in spite of many difficulties, and with manifold tokens of Divine favour. The sorcerers have from time to time exercised all their devilish arts to withstand the Gospel, and to keep the people in thraldom; arts scarcely less diabolical have been used by unprincipled traders to retain the Esquimaux under their own power, and to prevent them becoming enlightened by the missionaries. And then, as bright gleams amid the darkness, the sorcerers have been touched and converted, and have declared their former acts to have been impostures; and the uniform patience and gentleness of the brethren have attracted the heathen, already weary with their experience of the traders, until the whole race has been evangelised. There are now on this inhospitable shore five stations, Hopedale, Zoar, Nain, Okak, and Hebron, all to the north of the missions of the Church of England. A station would long ago have been formed on the Hudson's Bay coast, had the authorities of the

company permitted it. An attempt has been made to establish one at the extreme north for the benefit of the few Esquimaux who, living apart from the rest of their people, still remain heathen. Twelve times in last year did the brethren endeavour to reach the spot proposed, and twelve times was their little schooner driven back ; but faith and zeal such as theirs will surely conquer at last. The Moravians were the first Christian society who employed the newly-discovered art of printing for the promulgation of the Scriptures in a living tongue. Their first edition was printed at Venice in 1470, and, before the Reformation had commenced, they had already published the Holy Scriptures in three languages. Such a people, therefore, may be supposed not to have neglected the translation of the Bible and other works into the difficult Esquimaux language : specially their grand old German hymns, so many of which are now used by ourselves, seem to have had a great fascination for their people.

It must be admitted that the aborigines are decreasing, and that the time would seem to be only too near when these translations will be useless, the people and their language having become extinct. In no degree, however, do such considerations affect our admiration for the labours of the missionaries, and for the result of those labours ; for it is something to have christianised a whole nation, and to have protected them to a great extent from the evils of a spurious civilisation. These poor Esquimaux Christians have contributed their quota to the sum of human knowledge, for the gallant men who have solved the difficult problem of the North West Passage have been laid under obligations to their sagacity, experience, and fidelity. They have also established a claim to our sympathy by deeds of humanity. In 1849 a ship belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company was lost, and the crew took refuge in two

boats. Of these, one was soon lost; the other, with nine survivors, was driven southwards for 800 miles amid snow and ice; at length it drifted amid the rocks at Okak, and the miserable crew, frozen and hungry, almost welcomed the death which they could not but expect from the natives, who came out to them in their kayaks. To their astonishment they were helped ashore, and carried (for they were unable to walk) to the mission house, where they found women singing hymns as they did their spinning, and every care was freely given to them. These gaunt and suffering men then, not less than our Arctic explorers, had good reason to bless the zeal which, eighty years before, had sent men to work on that barren coast.

From the very commencement of this mission a barter has been carried on with the natives. As a general principle, it is perhaps undesirable that missionaries should have anything to do with trade, but what is expedient in one country may be inexpedient in another. The traffic with the Esquimaux has been uniformly regarded as a means towards their conversion and civilisation, and it has certainly been a stimulus to their energy. The brethren who have engaged in it receive none of the profits, and, isolated as the missionaries are, a ship is absolutely required to supply them with food, and to carry them to and from England. The cost of a yearly voyage would be far beyond the means of these poor people, and it is consequently a matter of necessity that the ship should pay her own expenses by carrying fish, furs, and oils to England. For more than 100 years the brethren's schooner has gone her annual voyage, without the loss of a single life, and without sustaining any material damage. The simple missionaries are fain to believe that it is of Divine Providence that their vessel has been so protected, and this is shared by a very different class of men, who are supposed to be in no degree lacking in worldly wisdom and business-

like habits; but so it is, that year by year, when in the month of June the "Harmony" sets out on her voyage, the underwriters insure her on very nominal terms, on the strength of her past immunity from danger. On her making the voyage the very lives of the missionaries depend, for she brings them their year's supply of food. Once she was delayed until October 30th, by which time, in ordinary years, all navigation would be over. Starvation seemed imminent. The Esquimaux had set to work to provide food, declaring that their teachers should not starve—but just then the welcome schooner appeared; her cargo was quickly discharged amid the forming ice, and in three weeks she was safe once more in the Thames.

Labrador was among the earliest mission stations of the Moravian brethren: their most recent efforts have been on another continent, but in hardly less lonely regions. Among the high-lying valleys of the Himalayas, in Thibet, among a race of stiff-necked Buddhists, three missionaries were stationed in 1857. In two years time they were joined by their three brides, selected for them by lot, according to the extraordinary custom of this people, by the elders. On a little spot, 14,000 feet above the sea-level, these three couples, so strangely assorted, made their home. Of all forms of Buddhism the most corrupt prevails in these regions; strings of beads are worn as a religious implement, a custom borrowed evidently from the Roman Church. Praying machines, or cylinders containing rolls of paper on which are printed a text from the Kanjur and Tanjur, are in daily use; by the pulling of a string a text is released, which is supposed to be a prayer wafted heavenwards: the whole system of the Buddhist priesthood, lamas, monks, and nuns, is in full vigour. For nine years not a single convert was made; up to the present time their adult converts number only fourteen, but the brethren and their wives continue patiently to open their schools, which, especially the girls' schools, are

increasingly appreciated. They have thoroughly learned the language, and have translated much. In 1865 Brother Pagell and his wife determined to found a new station at Poo, in the centre of a wild province, and for the first winter their mission house was a stable. At the outset their work was regarded with much suspicion, and all attempts to enter Thibet Proper were unavailing. In time, however, the brother acquired great reputation for his medical skill, and in 1867 he was entreated to enter the Chinese territory to relieve the sufferings of the people under a terrible visitation of small-pox. Although himself very unwell at the time, he hesitated not to trust himself to the guidance of the strange envoy, and after travelling for five days over snow-clad mountains, he was received as a person of high consideration. He went through twelve large villages scattered over an extensive country, vaccinating every one, from the child in arms to the greyheaded elders; he was welcomed also in the monasteries, where he vaccinated lamas and nuns, and delighted was he to find on his homeward journey that the operation had in every case been successful. The honour which was given to him for his skill he availed himself of as a means of evangelisation; the money that was offered to him he refused, but everywhere he declared in their own tongue the message of salvation. As he left the valley, in which he had worked so profitably for three weeks, one of the people came to take leave, and begged him "to remember the valley in his prayers."

There are no glorious records of conversions, the fruit of the missionary's toil in these barren regions, and to those who look for immediate results the whole effort will seem to have been a failure. Better to fail in honest labour for God than to fail in serving Him at all. But it will be contrary to the experience of all history, if faith so simple, and zeal so primitive, do not, before very long, achieve some appreciable results.

XLIV.

In the preceding papers notice has been taken of nearly every part of the world in which the Anglican communion is now endeavouring to plant a knowledge of the faith which has been entrusted to us. It remains now briefly to survey—first, the condition of those countries which are still unconverted; secondly, of those daughter Churches whose degrees of growth vary from that of a mere handful of Christians, hardly yet won from the entanglements of idolatry, to the maturity of an independent Church self-governing and self-supporting.

(1) After more than eighteen centuries of Christianity, hardly one-third of the inhabitants of the earth are Christians even in name. A learned German statistician (Berghaus) has given the following division of the human race in regard to religion:—

Buddhists	31·2 per cent.
Christians	30·7 „
Mahometans	15·7 „
Brahmanists	13·4 „
Heathens	8·7 „
Jews	0·3 „*

To a believer, these figures are painful; to a sceptic, they are a triumph. "See," says the latter, "how unsuitable is Christianity to the majority of men; whatever the advantages to Western people, it can never adapt itself to Oriental minds, nor be assimilated by them. Why, then, attempt to shake the faith of the Brahmin, the Buddhist,

* See Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. i. p. 161.

the Parsee, in their respective creeds, which exercise over them the restraints which it is the chief use of religion to enforce; which can point to origins older by centuries than that of the religion which you ask them to adopt in its place, which already has secured their passionate attachment, and which satisfies them as it has satisfied their ancestors for scores of generations?"

With persons who thus argue it is vain to argue in return; there can be no common ground between us, and little hope of any being attained by force of words. The strongest logic will be that of patient persevering labour.

Missions have to endure rougher assaults than those of the merely indifferent philosophers, who look on all religions as equally good for the purpose of a moral police, and equally true (and consequently equally false) in themselves. Those who value Christianity cheaply, not only ridicule, but grudge, its extension, and missions are denounced as a "gigantic impracticability," as an "organised hypocrisy," and contempt is thrown not merely on the work, but on those who engage in it. Only as it were yesterday, a distinguished peer laid down in the House of Lords the extraordinary dictum that every man who engaged in missionary work must, *ipso facto*, be a fanatic or an impostor. The statement was not allowed to go unchallenged, and the nobleman who uttered it has since enabled the world to estimate the value of his opinion on religious subjects by the publication of a remarkable book.*

Thus it is, however, that that most indefinite, but powerful thing, public opinion, is formed; and its tendency, just now, is to hold missions lightly. Let us state some considerations which may serve to show that such an opinion has not been wisely formed. Admitting that the greater portion of

* *Christian Theology and Modern Scepticism.* By the Duke of Somerset, K.G. London: James Bain.

the world is heathen; that Buddhism alone, whose cardinal doctrine is annihilation of that personality which the Gospel clothes with such awful reality, outnumbers the adherents of Christianity; that Mahometanism, while decaying in some countries, is rapidly extending itself in others, and making proselytes, not merely from among the followers of Brahma, of Buddha, and of Confucius, but even occasionally from professed Christians; that among the purely heathen races the strong man armed keepeth his goods, and is hardly dispossessed; yet is the prospect utterly dark and hopeless? That very Buddhist creed, which is in most violent contrast to the Christian, is disintegrated, and varies from itself in different regions so widely, as to be not one but many creeds. Among the Brahmins divers agencies have been at work, some purely secular, some distinctly spiritual, which have caused that ancient creed to reel to its centre: English rule, with all that follows in its train—education, the press, impartial laws, commerce, railways, telegraphs—has rendered it impossible that a people who enjoy such blessings shall long continue the victims of a delusion so palpable, and of superstitions so gross. The existence of the Brahmo-Somaj, and many other circumstances, convince us that the idolatry of their forefathers is doomed, whatever may succeed to it. The efforts of missionaries have offered to the people a creed at once reasonable and divine, which they may substitute for it. India now needs to be delivered from the attentions of ecclesiastical doctrinaires, who, themselves not building on the one foundation, think to try their hand at erecting some imaginary and eclectic Church of the future, whose standard of doctrine shall satisfy everybody and offend no one. Already, as has been shown, the Church has converts of the second and third generation, and the native priesthood marks a great step gained. Enemies and friends alike acknowledge the change

which has taken place in the native mind, whatever may be its value, and it is no extravagant expectation which looks for a Pentecostal ingathering from the various races of Hindostan.

The power of the Mahometan imposture is not a thing to marvel at: a religion which consecrates sensual indulgence, and whose founder delivered to his successors the scimitar as the emblem of their apostolate, can bid high for popularity against the Church of Christ, especially among Oriental races. Ever strongly influenced by political considerations, it may be that to the force of political events rather than to spiritual causes it may one day yield. If we look to the other parts of the world which are still lying in heathenism, the prospects of the triumph of truth are hopeful. To say nothing of the mighty spiritual forces that are now everywhere at work, the stir, so mysterious and so consolatory, in the heart of the whole human race, there meets us the undoubted fact that Christian nations are rapidly possessing themselves of the kingdoms of this world: the dominions of the Crown of England are about one-sixth of the whole globe; Russia is steadily extending her empire, especially in that eastern direction where she, with all the prestige of her ancient creed, her venerable Church, and her Christian ruler, will confront Paganism in its stronghold. In America, both North and South, Christianity may now be considered dominant, and its tendency is to seek new fields in which to plant itself. In the British dominions in Australasia the same phenomenon meets us, and these Churches are promising to become, in their turn, centres of light. It is not probable that the Christian powers of the nineteenth century will, as did Spain and Portugal in the sixteenth century, themselves undertake, as an imperial function, the evangelisation of their remote possessions. Perhaps it is as well that they should not; but we may be sure that where their rule extends toleration, if not sym-

pathy, will be given to missionary work, and that indirectly, at least, civilisation will prove a handmaid of the Gospel.

It is not without thought that the following suggestion is put forward. Is it anywhere promised to the Church that it shall reduce all the peoples of the world to the obedience of Christ? and is the work of missionaries to be commended or condemned according to the number of their converts? Omitting for the present the thought of what may happen in the last days, is there any age of the Christian Church which could stand such a test? and if not, is the work of the apostles, evangelists, martyrs, and confessors for eighteen centuries to be stamped as a failure, because the majority of mankind is yet unconverted? The apostles could not have been acquitted had their labours been thus guaged; 3,000 souls were, indeed, converted in one day, but that event was altogether exceptional. Their work was gradual and slow, without large immediate results, but not without great discouragements; a few converts here and a few there, mostly of the poorer classes, and, in the midst of these gains, frequent opposition and trial. One apostle put to death; another cast into prison, "because it pleased the people;" and after many years of journeyings and labours, the results numerically were small. There were Churches at Lystra, at Iconium, and at Athens, but their numbers were not so large as to demand that special letters should be written to them. The Epistle to the Romans was to a Church composed of believers gathered from all parts into the imperial city; the Epistles to the Corinthians show that the converts, whom apostolic toil had gained, were no better in their daily morality than any other body of imperfect and half-instructed believers recently won from idolatry. It would be easy to sketch similar conditions of the Church's progress through the ages of persecution, the days of Arian triumph, of Papal disputes, of separation of East and West,

and through the post-Reformation period up to the present time. Another question arises: Are we anywhere taught that the universal acceptance of the Gospel message is to herald in the close of the existing dispensation, or are we to accept literally the declaration that the "Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world *for a witness* unto all nations, and then shall the end come"? If we adopt literally the latter, then it would not seem that "there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed." The distant islands of the sea are now receiving the "witness" year by year. The ever-extending rule of Christian powers, if it conveys only civilisation, renders easier the path and expedites the labour of him who carries that which is more than synonymous with it, Christianity: in three out of the five divisions of the world Christianity is dominant; in the fourth it is being preached for a witness in continually widening areas; in the fifth, Africa, a fringe of light has been placed around its borders, and although the centre is full of darkness and cruel habitations, and Islamism is pushing itself vigorously southward from the shores of the Mediterranean until it has now covered more than half of the continent, yet already assaults have been made on heathenism, and the pioneers of the Cross have kept pace with the footsteps of the merely scientific explorer.*

In all these fields the progress of Christian truth and Christian living will not be without interruptions; it would be to defy all history to expect it: there must be relapses and disappointments; unworthy motives are often mixed up with the noblest human works. The "rice-Christians" of India, so valuable to those who depreciate missions, have had their counterpart in every age: Corinth and Laodicæa are reproduced in every Church, specially while its members

* See a remarkable sermon, "*The Gospel Preached for a Witness*," by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. Bell and Daldy, 1869.

are still neophytes. And who are we, that we should affect to be surprised at inconsistencies of conduct in these young Christians, whose spiritual life is, and must be, of tender growth? It was of a country that prides itself, above all things, on its commercial integrity, of a people that have enjoyed eighteen centuries of Christian teaching, and of an age that has witnessed much religious stir, that an able historian uttered recently the following words :—

"We have had thirty years of unexampled clerical activity among us: churches have been doubled, theological books, magazines, reviews, newspapers, have been poured out by hundreds of thousands; while by the side of it there has sprung up an equally astonishing development of moral dishonesty. From the great houses in the City of London to the village grocer's shop, the commercial life of England has been saturated with fraud. So deep has it gone that a strictly honest tradesman can hardly hold his ground against competition: you can no longer trust that any article which you buy is the thing that it pretends to be. We have false weights, false measures, cheating and shoddy everywhere."*

We do not discuss the value of these words: they are the words of an acute observer, and were not uttered rashly; they have passed without challenge, and no attempt, so far as we know, has been made to confute them: the fact that they have been spoken at all may teach us a lesson of humility, when estimating the morality of other nations whose advantages have been so much smaller than our own.

(2) The condition of our daughter Churches has been sketched with, it is hoped, tolerable exactness in preceding papers; it is at once the greatest proof of the value of past labours, and the liveliest encouragement for the future. In the United States, England's eldest daughter, we see a

* *Inaugural Address delivered to the University of St. Andrew's, March* 19, 1869. By J. A. Froude, M.A., Rector of the University. London, Longmans.

Church that now for nearly a century has been independent and self-contained, which has flourished without State support, and struck deeply its roots in a land whose government is purely democratic. In this Church the episcopate, so tardily, grudgingly given, now numbers more than fifty prelates, who with their congregations regard with warmest affection the Church from which they sprang, and who form one of the most abiding links between the citizens of the two countries. As their mission work extends beyond the limits of their own continent, it may be found that the full communion which exists between the two Churches will be publicly recognised by the clergy of the one being under the rule of a bishop of the other Church, as is already the case, on a small scale, in Honolulu, and might at once be repeated with advantage in China.

The Churches which were founded by much self-denial hardly a generation ago, are already attaining perfect independence, spiritual and material. In Southern Africa, in Australia, in New Zealand, and in Canada, the organisation of diocesan and provincial synods is now complete, and is recognised by local legislation. In these dioceses the extension of the episcopate, and therewith of the whole Church, is a matter dependent not on the will of Parliament, but on the action of the Church herself: how useful, how absolutely essential, is such an external machinery for securing the perpetuation of the spiritual gifts of the Church is manifest from the condition of those Churches which do not possess it. Trusting simply to the action of the civil power, the Churches of the West Indies especially have found themselves unable to provide for the election of bishops to vacant sees, when the support of the State was suddenly withdrawn. It is manifestly the duty of the Church to claim for herself the independence of action which is enjoyed by every other religious body: the right of sending her

emissaries wherever she pleases, of consecrating bishops to lead her missions, of subdividing existing sees. The time has gone by when the aid of the temporal power can be sought for spiritual objects; but better things can be demanded—perfect freedom to do her own work in her own way.

The day probably is very far distant when Englishmen will be relieved from the duty of building up our colonial churches. Independent of such aid as some dioceses already are, and rapidly as others are attaining to such a condition, there are some, such as Newfoundland, whose poverty seems to forbid the hope of their ever being able to maintain amongst themselves the ministrations of the Word and Sacraments.

Amid the many social problems which meet us at home, the increasing wealth of the country getting into a limited number of hands, and the increasing poverty of the poor becoming all the more marked by the contrast, emigration seems to be the natural and only relief, and the wise direction of such a movement to be matter for the highest statesmanship. Colonisation is not now conducted on the principles of two centuries ago; then, indeed, it seemed to be regarded by the aristocracy as one of the duties of their order to build up our colonial empire as much as possible on the pattern of our institutions at home: grants of land were made to younger sons of noble houses, who took with them their dependents of varied grades, by whom they were surrounded in England; but now our emigrant population is taken from the poorest stratum, and surely, on all grounds, it seems the wise and natural course to promote the exodus of those persons who, at present a burden to society, are likely in time to acquiesce in such a position, and to be content with the lack of self-respect which it implies. Borne down by hopeless poverty, such persons are proof against the most earnest efforts of clergyman or district visitor; in their squalid homes, with each successive meal a matter of

uncertainty, they are hard to impress with the vision of the crowns of paradise and the joys of the redeemed. Body, soul, and spirit act and re-act, and however insignificant may be the things of time to the things of eternity, the fact remains that there is nothing like having hope for the present to generate hope for the future, while the utter absence of the due appliances of this life is not unlikely to make a man callous about the hopes of the life to come. While, then, as a matter of political economy, it is true wisdom to convert a pauper, who is adding daily to the pressure of our taxation, and likely to become not only an useless but a dangerous member of society, into a colonist and a customer to England for some of her manufactures, it is a matter of Christian duty to see that, as his worldly condition improves, his spiritual condition shall not be uncared for. The man who receives an assisted passage to one of our colonies to-day, finds himself in a couple of years a landed proprietor, and perhaps in ten or twelve years has added run to run and farm to farm, and has become a power among his neighbours. On such men as these the future religious condition of whole countries may, humanly speaking, depend. It rests, therefore, with the Church which sends them forth, whether they shall in their several stations be missionaries of the truth, or whether they shall sink into the dreariest of all conditions, that of a lapsed Christian.

In either hemisphere the Anglican communion would seem to be called to this noble work of reproducing herself: all things seem to favour her. The dominant faith of the most powerful of all nations, it would seem that only from her own supineness can she fail: hitherto she cannot be said to have been unfruitful or barren, with more than one hundred dioceses as the result of her labours. May the prophecy be accomplished in her case, "Instead of thy fathers, thou shalt have children, whom thou mayest make princes in all lands."

XLV.

To be called to such a career as was sketched in the last paper should be a sufficient stimulus to any Church or people, and a Church so favoured as is our own ought never to be crippled for lack either of men or of means; and yet the difficulties of obtaining these seem to be greater every year. There are many causes which sufficiently account for this state of things. Foremost among them is the surpassing ignorance on all subjects connected with missionary work, which is the special characteristic of Church people, and which shows them in such violent contrast with Dissenters. To the same cause must be attributed the apathy and indifference for which they are also distinguished. It is a painful fact that the very large majority of church-goers know simply nothing at all of the missionary work of the present day, and are ignorant of the very names of even the most laborious and successful of our missionaries; and in this state of utter darkness they are often taken captive by the reckless assertions of travellers and of writers, who find their account in decrying all such work. It is equally true that only a small minority of the clergy give to missions their due place in their teaching, leaving the annual sermon to be preached too often by a stranger, and omitting all mention of the subject during the rest of the year. The slightest acquaintance with Dissenters shows how wide and how painful is the contrast between them and ourselves. With them the

support of missions is a religious duty, binding on every individual, and not merely a denominational obligation. Their admirable system of finance, by which even the poorest contribute regularly to the support and extension of their faith, teaches all classes that the work is their own, to be done by each one of them, and not to be talked of and preached about as an act of special devotion, practised only by the well-to-do minority; hence, even the poorest among them are familiar with the names and doings of missionaries, both of the present and past generations, and know much of the condition of their work. Hence the offerings made by all classes among Dissenters are many fold larger than those of the corresponding stations among Church people; and the aggregate incomes of their societies are as creditable to them as they are a reproach to ourselves.

Missionary history must then be taught to our people. It should be the subject of frequent catechising in our schools and churches, and it should have a place in all, even the highest, education. Nothing generates patriotism in the young so much as the tales of heroism which are part of our national history; and not until our children have been fired with the records of Christian chivalry are they likely either to have a due appreciation of missionary work, or to volunteer for it themselves. Until their parents also have been shown the true dignity of such a career, they will not readily encourage their sons to follow it, or even consent to their doing so. Of those, comparatively few in number, whose hearts God has touched, and who now offer themselves for foreign work, a large proportion are thwarted in their desires by the objections of friends. Parents who will gladly send forth their sons to the uttermost parts of the world in the interests of commerce or of science, will be shocked and heartbroken if one of those

sons is Quixotic enough to wish to work for God in distant lands. Like the Laureate's worldly-minded mother,—

"With a little hoard of maxims preaching down a daughter's heart,"

worldly-minded fathers shrink altogether from the sacrifice which is implied by undertaking the work of a missionary.

Such scruples are not unnatural; neither, under present circumstances, are they to be severely condemned. Parents have not learned to estimate the true glory and dignity of the work, but they have discernment enough to discover that their estimate of it is the general one, and extends to those who engage in it. Instead of being held in special honour, the missionary is, to the bulk even of church-going people, a clergyman of a lower type, perhaps a fanatic, perhaps a mere *dilettante*, eager to get money for work which no one seems to know anything about, of which it is difficult to get independent testimony, but of which such testimony as is obtained is frequently unfavourable. To the credit of those who, with all these disadvantages before them, embrace this work, it must be admitted that a missionary, when he sails from England, may expect to be soon forgotten by the Church which is supposed to have sent him forth to do her work. He will dwell and toil among strangers, and may be happy and successful in his work; and well is it for him if he can stay at that work and die in harness; for if health break down, and he be ordered back to his native land, he will find himself a stranger among strangers. His services, however devoted—nay, even if they have been successful (and success is often the popular test of devotion)—will give him no claim on patrons, either public or private. The years of toil in foreign countries will be regarded as a sort of parenthesis in his ministerial life; and the man who has spent health, and energy, and strength,

in converting Brahmins, or Mahometans, or Kafirs, to the faith of Christ, will now have to seek and to be satisfied with the status and the emoluments of a curate.

These words are not written rashly. There are men now living, who, at the request of colonial bishops, and under a sense of duty and of devotion, have even relinquished preferment and given themselves to foreign work, and after twenty years of assiduous toil, have had to return to England and take curacies in the very diocese in which, long ago, they were beneficed. Dissenters honour such men for their work's sake. A missionary of these bodies knows that during good behaviour he is certain to be cared for; that if he breaks down in a tropical climate, he will not be turned loose in England, to seek a bare maintenance for himself, but will be treated with love and reverence, and will be provided with suitable work and emolument. To a Churchman, the fact of his having been a missionary is a disqualification and a bar to his advancement in life. It cannot, therefore, be a matter of surprise, if parents, who do not discern the glory of the work itself, are unwilling to give their sons to it. Education alone can secure for missions their true position in general estimation. The popular voice is not a very high tribunal perhaps, but it is a power; and it sadly needs teaching and direction in the matter of its hero-worship. At present the man who exhumes some long-buried heresy and rehabilitates it in some new formulæ, is *fêted* and honoured, and even his blasphemies are treated with respect and sympathy; while the man who has given a lifetime to the spread of the eternal Gospel is slighted as a poor creature who has no originality, no claim to be an advanced thinker. The man who scales and for some ten minutes wrests from the tempest and the cloud the hitherto undisputed possession of an Alpine peak, is regarded as a greater hero, and is treated as though he had contributed

more to the sum of human progress than the man who, by years of patient labour, has laid wide and deep the Christian foundations of future empires.

It is to be hoped that already there is a prospect of missionary work being looked on, both by parents and their sons, as a possible career for those who are inclined to follow it. It can no longer be said that the example has to be set; for within the last few months two bishops have given their sons to the Church in foreign lands,—a son of the Bishop of Lichfield having devoted himself to Melanesia, and a son of the Bishop of Durham to India.

So vast is the mission field, and so diverse are the operations to be conducted within it, that it affords scope for every kind of gift and for men of all ranks and powers. They should, in fact, be taken from all grades, which would thereby be connected with it by the strongest of ties. They should not all be men of the higher social class, still less should they be all taken from the lower. A theory has been adopted by many excellent men, that wherever an inclination is shown for the work, there the Church should step in and foster that inclination, and provide an education, without cost, for the man who is willing to give himself; such, indeed, is the practice of the Roman Church. There are many objections to such a plan. Enough has been written in these pages to show that the grace of missionary zeal is independent of school or college, and that some of our most famous missionaries have been of humble origin and of imperfect education. These, however, have been exceptions. Besides the obvious fact, that this system, if pursued for a few years, would furnish a body of missionaries, the majority of whom would be intellectually inferior, and so would lower the whole class, there is great danger in freely opening the door to the ministry to young men of this type. To themselves and to their friends such

an offer seems to pave the way to a higher social position than that to which they are accustomed. During the years of their training their own zeal may grow cold, or they may feel themselves unsuited for a work, of which they now know more than when first they contemplated it. This difficulty has often been felt in the Roman Catholic missionary seminaries, whose students are largely drawn from the humbler classes; but if from any circumstances they fail to realise the expectations either of themselves or their friends, they have to contemplate, as their only possible alternative, a rebound to the state of poverty from which they have been taken, and to which their education has made it doubly hard to return.

The supposed relations between societies at home and the clergy who are supported by them are often, it is to be feared, obstacles which prevent men of the highest stamp from taking up missionary work. Societies are organisations for collecting money, but they are not spiritual corporations. They have no inherent powers which enable them to give "mission;" they have no power, save the commonplace power conferred by possession of funds contributed by thousands of persons, to direct missions. Probably the difficulties are more imaginary than real; but it is easy to see that they may, and it is notorious that they sometimes do, occur. Clergy who undertake the most tremendous task that can be entrusted to any man, ought to be allowed as much liberty and as much discretion as the rector of an English parish enjoys as a matter of right; they ought also to be under no other authority than such as is implied by their ordination vows. If such men are at all fitted for their work, they must be supposed to be able to form a better judgment and to estimate more truly the necessities of any case that may arise, than can a committee or a society, some 10,000 miles away. There is no doubt, how-

ever, that some such power of control is always claimed and frequently exercised in England. Human nature makes itself felt in these matters; there is in the heart of man a love of seeing something in return for his money, and a reluctance to give freely to a good work, looking for nothing in return. The same weakness which allows a man, who will not give five shillings simply as an offering to God, to spend five pounds at a charity bazaar, where he receives in exchange some trumpery article, of no use to himself and of the smallest intrinsic value, tempts another man to seek the equivalent of his subscription in the power to direct the minutest details of its expenditure; and it is not an unreasonable supposition that men, conscious of the possession of certain gifts, are not willing to work in the fetters which such direction implies.

It is a degradation to a man in Holy Orders to find himself described as being "in the service" of a society: such an expression ought never to be used. A missionary is in the service of the Church and in a position of special honour. He is no more in the service—*i.e.*, the employ—of an organisation, which supplies him with the funds on which he lives, than an English rector is in the service or the employ of the persons who pay him tithes. And yet there is a plebeian notion in the minds of subscribers at home that the missionary is simply their servant; that his whole time and thoughts and energies are secured by them, and great jealousy is felt if, for example, he engages in any literary work, or adds anything to his yearly pittance. This is a short-sighted policy. Besides the obvious fact that a man who is entrusted with the solemn duty of evangelising the heathen may be supposed to be worthy of confidence, and so may be entrusted to do his work as and when he sees best, and, in fact, never will do it well if he is not trusted fully, missionaries have facilities of rendering good service

to the cause of science, which would specially commend their work to the very classes who at present depreciate it. A man cannot always be engaged in the same routine of labour, however honourable or holy it may be, and a missionary to the heathen has probably more time on his hands than a clergyman in an English parish. This leisure he may employ in studying the ethnology, the folk-lore, the language of the people, or the physical characteristics of the country. No man can be so well situated for the prosecution of such studies as a missionary; and the occupation will not only refresh him, but will give him infinite advantages for doing the proper work of his calling, while, by communicating the results of his researches, he will win respect for himself and his missionary position.* Many of our ablest missionaries have rendered these public services, and with the happiest results; but their efforts have not always been approved by persons at home, who have seen in them only distractions from their higher and more imperative duties.

At a time of unparalleled dearth of missionaries it is well to consider every possible cause of a state of things so unfortunate. May not, then, one cause be the inadequate remuneration which is offered? We say nothing of the emoluments of those who accept the position of colonial clergy, for there supply and demand will make themselves felt. The English Churchman, who has everything provided for him at home by the pious endowments of his ancestors, has to acquire, when he settles in a colony, the habit of paying for the support of his religion. The Nonconformist emigrant has been accustomed to do so all his life, and to him it appears no hardship. The Churchman only learns the lesson slowly and grudgingly; but he sees that his religious privileges depend on his doing his duty in this

* See Professor Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, under Article "Confucius," on this subject.

respect, and therefore we may leave the colonial clergy to their flocks, with the conviction that an earnest priest will always win for himself support and sympathy; but among the heathen no such law is found. The missionary is the representative of Christians at home, who feel the obligation, either in person or by deputy, of preaching the Gospel to the heathen. He must be supported, therefore, by those whose substitute he is. The tendency is to perform this duty at as cheap a rate as possible. Subscribers of the conventional annual guinea, which with mock humility they call their "mite," as though they in any degree resembled the poor widow in the Gospel, are enamoured of the "cheap" missionaries of the Roman Church; but they set their faces against the celibate condition and the communal life which alone render such economy possible, and they determine that the English Church shall be presented to the heathen as a social religion, and that the missionaries shall at least have the liberty of marrying: this compels them to forego the luxury of excessive cheapness; but they pay as little as they can, and wonder that men do not volunteer for the work. They are fond of quoting, as though it were a canon of universal application, that a missionary is to have enough to supply him with food and raiment, and no more. They encourage him to hamper himself with wife and family, and if his health breaks down we have seen what his probable future will be. It is high time that such an axiom should be protested against, and in its room should be proclaimed, "The labourer is worthy of his hire." Apostolic poverty—that is to say, the condition of Christians when "all that believed were together and had all things common"—applied to the laity as well as to the clergy; and if the principle is still to be in force, it embraces both classes still. It seems a gross and wicked travestie to limit it to men bearing the burden and heat of

the day, and who are placed in the forefront of the battle. It is, in fact, an unconscious adoption of the Hindu prejudice, which regards the mendicancy of the Fakir as the true and only sign of a man of God. To take a practical illustration. A chaplain on the Indian establishment, who has to minister to English congregations, the majority of whom are soldiers, receives £600 per annum from the date of his arrival, which is increased to £1,000 per annum after ten years' service, and is followed by a pension of £365 per annum after seventeen years' service. Any clergyman who could creditably discharge the duties of a parish priest in England may be supposed competent for those of an Indian chaplain, and yet the advantages of the office do not attract a large number of candidates. An Indian missionary, whose work really demands the very highest gifts,—the power of acquiring languages, of studying the systems of ancient and intricate religions and philosophies, of arguing with subtle minds, of seeing things from an opponent's point of view, a familiarity with the latest thought both of our own and other nations,—what is the price at which the possessor of these gifts is estimated? If his income reaches £300 per annum, it will not exceed it, and there is no prospect of increase, or of pension when he is disabled; and, moreover, it is made up of many items, the most vexatious of which, to a sensitive and educated gentleman, is an allowance for each child, which is painfully suggestive of the practice of Boards of Guardians. If it be said that these stipends are not regarded as equivalents of the services of such men, it may be asked, why, in the missionary field alone, is service to go unrequited? In the highest positions in the Church at home the labourer is counted to be worthy of his hire; and if he were not so, these positions would not be filled as admirably as they are. It is quite sufficient sacrifice if a man gives *himself* to the work of missions; and zeal is not

necessarily chilled because the possessor of it is freed from the anxiety of how he shall pay his way. It is one of the evils of the Church at home that so many of the clergy spend on their parishes and on their schools far more than they receive for their own services. Such liberality is creditable to themselves, but it demoralises the people, whom it relieves of their proper burdens. In the same way those missionaries who, like Bishop Mackenzie and Bishop Patteson, and many others, have given their substance as well as themselves to their work, have relieved the Church of the burden of their maintenance, which ought to have been regarded by it as a privilege. The Church of England may fail in many ways. She may be deficient in zeal, in self-denial, in energy; she may, which God avert, bear a feeble witness to the truth, or even lose her grasp of it. The one thing in which especially it seems most improbable that she should fail is wealth; and, if our proposition be true that zeal is not incompatible with a sufficiency of means, the Church's truest wisdom is to secure for her Indian missions men only of the highest type. One such man will be a greater power, and is more likely to prove an efficient missionary, than half-a-dozen men of only mediocre attainments, who offend rather than attract the learned Brahmin or Mussulman. It has been acknowledged in an earlier paper that the Church in doing her work in India has not been able generally to enlist talent of that high order which has been at the command of the State for its work of conquest or administration. The large majority of our missionaries have not had the advantages implied by an University education. With their present income missionary societies, if they followed this plan, would not be able to print so large a number of recipients of the moneys of their subscribers; but the work at whose accomplishment they aim would be better done, and perhaps in time results

would so far commend the principle of securing only able evangelists, that means would be found for the support of them in larger numbers.

Make missionary work a profession in which a man will see as good prospect of maintenance as by remaining in an English diocese, and men, honest, earnest men, with hearts in their work, will be found ready to live and die in it. The miserable expedient of asking men to give five or seven years to foreign work in the delusive expectation that such service will secure them preferment in England, will then be unnecessary, to the great benefit of the colonial Churches; for from few things do those Churches suffer more than from the sense of instability, which is largely aggravated by the clergy leaving their work just as they have acquired the amount of experience which fits them to do it thoroughly, and which unfits them for that work in England for which years before they were more competent than now.

It may be objected that this is but a commercial and a sordid way of regarding our difficulties; that we ought to appeal to the spirit of self-sacrifice, and draw out in this nineteenth century some latent Augustine, or Boniface, or Xavier, or Schwartz. The reply is, that such men, if they really answered to the description which admirers have given of them, do not appear in every generation; but that in our own day and from our own spiritual mother, there have gone forth missionaries as zealous and as devout as any Church or age has produced: they were undemonstrative Englishmen, and they have not yet found their *vates sacer*. They dressed as did other men, and have not been familiarised to the world with aureoles around their heads, or with seraphic robes about their persons; but their work was honest and sound, and will not be lost. Some of these, even the noblest of them, had ample fortunes; and this fact in no degree impaired their zeal; the only drawback was

that they spent not only themselves, but also their own means, and so encouraged the Church in a policy of parsimony.

If the financial condition of the Church of England were that of the Moravian Brethren, it would be reasonable to ask her missionary clergy to add to their other troubles the burden of poverty; but in the wealthiest Church in Christendom such conduct is without excuse.

XLVI.

In the last paper an opinion was hazarded that missionary societies were not the best organisations for attracting men, and that they had no inherent powers which qualified them for the task of directing missions. Within the last few years an opinion has found favour with some that they are not the proper organisations which should undertake the task of receiving the alms of the Church for missionary purposes; that their numbers only divide a work which should be regarded as one; that their system is expensive; and that the multiplication of societies each with its separate home and staff of officials, necessarily consumes an undue per-centage of the offerings of the faithful on home machinery. In all these criticisms there is some truth: how shall the evils, if evils there be, be remedied? The upper house of the Convocation of Canterbury has elaborated a scheme for the formation of "a duly organised body which should represent the Church in her missionary aspect;" in other words, "a board of missions." Such a scheme could hardly fail to commend itself to all lovers of order and of propriety, and if the mission work of the Church of England were now to be commenced, it would clearly be preferable to all others; but there exist among us two societies—one with a history of 170, the other of 70 years, each of which is connected with missions of various degrees of development in all parts of the world, and possesses a network of organisation over the whole of England for the purpose of diffusing

information, and of collecting funds. Supposing for the sake of argument (and the hypothesis is a large one) that these two societies were, in deference to the wishes of Convocation, to merge themselves in a board of missions, making over to it all their properties, the bequests of which they are trustees, and the missions for whose establishment and maintenance they have raised the funds: not yet would all the mission work of the Church be placed under the direction of "a duly organised body;" there are other societies, of minor importance and raising smaller sums annually, but not less abnormal as instruments of Church work on that account. There are also associations, under various names, connected with special missions and dioceses, some of which have paid officers, and all of which are in fact missionary societies. Supposing that all of these (and their number is greater than many persons imagine) likewise ceased to exist, is it probable in the present state of the Church of England, with its utter absence of discipline, that many years would elapse before other organisations, be they societies, guilds, confraternities, or what not, would be formed either embodying some set of opinions, or perhaps only existing as a protest against the action of the "Board of Missions?" It is well to remember that in the Church of the United States, within whose pale the pendulum of religious thought does not oscillate between such wide extremes as in our own, and where such a board has existed from the commencement of its foreign missionary work, its prestige has not been sufficient to prevent the establishment of a society which does not affect to deny that its relations to it are those of a rival organisation. The vision of one missionary centre for the Anglican Church, in which the whole of her evangelistic machinery should be directed by authority, from which missionaries should be sent forth by the whole Church, and under whose roof they should be

welcomed as honoured guests when they returned from the work they were no longer able to perform; where within spacious walls all should be devotion, zeal, harmony; to which, as to a sacred treasury, alms should flow in spontaneously and abundantly, and where ledgers and all the hard details of worldly business should be unknown,—this indeed is a beautiful scheme, far too beautiful to be realised; it would be wholly without parallel. The Church of Rome is content to divide her work, to leave generally the collection of missionary funds to the society at Lyons, and the government of her missions, in which is involved the expenditure of such funds, to the College of the Propaganda at Rome; but the proposed board of missions of the English Church, absorbing into itself all existing organisations, and preventing the establishment of all new societies in the future, whether for home or foreign purposes (for societies which aim at building up the Church at home are quite as abnormal in an ecclesiastical point of view as those which are concerned only with foreign lands), and providing under the same roof both a home for its missionaries, and an oratory in which those engaged in a work so solemn should find means for keeping their spiritual life at its proper level, would indeed be an institution that would command almost universal respect. But it will not gladden the eyes nor demand the homage either of ourselves or of our children: its promoters soon discovered that the perfection at which they aimed was an ideal one, and the functions of the board as at present proposed are wholly unconnected with money matters, and are limited so as not to interfere with the work of existing organisations.

Many questions of importance will arise, specially on the occasion of founding missions in new countries, when not only the advice but the direction of the authorities of the Church in Convocation should be sought and followed:

foremost among such questions obviously are the extension of the missionary episcopate; the limitation of the area in which bishops not holding letters patent, and affecting no legal jurisdiction, should exercise their spiritual government; the economising of men and means by placing Anglican missionaries under a bishop of the American or the Scotch Church, where those sister churches are working by the side of our own, as is already the case in China, and soon will be in Kaffraria. Over dioceses already gathered into provincial synods under a metropolitan, as in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Africa, a board of missions in England could claim to exercise no power, and societies should readily acknowledge the independence which they have attained, and should place funds, entrusted to them for the benefit of such dioceses, at the disposal of their synods, without making undue stipulations as to the manner of their expenditure.

Let it not be thought that if every society were abolished to-morrow a board of missions would cost nothing. The work which it aims at doing is distinctly a spiritual one, but it is done with human machinery. It is not wholly free from £ *s. d.*, and whenever a sovereign is given by A to B to be expended on C, there must be a per-centage of cost on the transaction, if it be only on account of the value of the paper on which the receipt is acknowledged. Before all other monetary transactions it is imperative that in handling funds for charitable purposes every formality and observance prescribed by strict rules of business should be carefully complied with, and this involves ledgers, accounts, and persons who are competent to deal with them. No doubt the multiplication of societies multiplies expenditure, and needlessly so if people were all of one mind; but with the variety of opinions and views within the Church the idea of one organisation which should satisfy every one and

enjoy the confidence of all schools and parties is a consummation to be desired, but hardly to be expected.

In a Church whose every member did his duty voluntarily there would be no need of any organisation for raising missionary funds; there would be one society conterminous with the Church, indeed the Church itself; but as things are, the suspension of the working of existing machinery would immediately be followed by the diminution of our missionary resources by at least three-fourths. There are a certain number of Christian people, fully alive to their duties, whose alms would be offered to the work of missions if no society existed, if no annual report were published, and if no tidings ever reached them of the work which they had aided. Some few thousands of pounds probably would be thus available yearly, whose collection would involve only a nominal cost: for every £1,000 raised after this first natural flow of benevolence, greater efforts have to be made and larger cost incurred. The power of raising money has been well compared to the power by which water is raised: the spring yields a certain supply spontaneously, but for larger measures a greater depth must be reached, and each additional foot is gained at increased expense. Much more money might be procured for missionary purposes than is obtained if the cost of raising it justified it: the matter to be settled is, where the line shall be drawn at which the cost of collection shall seem to be unjustifiable.

It argues little acquaintance with the method of conducting business affairs to expect that a machinery, so vast as is required in the present condition of the Church, for maintaining missionary funds even at their existing amount, can be worked without considerable cost. It is, no doubt, a duty to exercise as much economy as is consistent with good administration, and such economy is, for the most part, practised: as a rule, the smaller the income of a

society or association, the larger is the proportionate cost of raising it. Some of the organisations connected with individual dioceses or missions have incurred an expenditure that seems almost criminal: in the larger and older societies it will be found that, dividing their home expenditure into the two heads of (1) collecting funds, (2) administering and distributing them, the cost of the former does not exceed £6 per cent.—a very small sum, when it is remembered that the moneys so collected are gifts, which the almost countless donors have to be asked, and even taught, to give, and that the taxes of the country, which are paid under compulsion, are, nevertheless, gathered in at a cost of nearly £5 per cent.

It may be that some of the measures resorted to for raising funds are open to criticism, and even to censure; small blessing can be expected to rest on moneys raised by bazaars, lotteries, drawing-room sales, and the many methods in which the sacred name of charity is taken in vain. Surely the responsibility of those is great, who, knowing what is right, yet pander to the miserable selfishness which demands something, however useless, in return for its money, and calls it charity. With the wealth of the Church of England, such devices, always objectionable, are simply inexcusable: every repetition of them lowers the spiritual tone of the people who take part in them, and adds to the difficulty of teaching them the duty of self-denial. It is very interesting, as a protest against this system, to notice the existence of a society for the practice of systematic benevolence, which insists on the principle of devoting to God a regular proportion of our income; the special interest of the association is that, originating with Nonconformists, it commends the ancient custom of tithes and the Church's rule of the weekly offertory. With the acceptance of such principles, all questionable devices for raising money would be at an end.

The contempt which is sometimes heaped on missionary meetings is wholly undeserved; so far from being discouraged, they should be promoted and multiplied in every way, not necessarily as means of raising money, but of imparting information and exciting interest. Many a future missionary has been won to the cause by attending the meetings held on behalf of one of the societies in his parish schoolroom. Such gatherings can easily be held: they need not be dry, and will not be so, if common intelligence is brought to bear on them, and they can be used both for purposes of worship and of instruction. To expect persons to contribute simply as a matter of duty to a work of which they hear nothing, is to make an unfair demand on human nature. Every Churchman has a right to know what his Church is doing for God, and his personal interest in it is likely to be none the less earnest because it is intelligent. The great need at present is to inform all classes in the Church of the work of missions, and to teach them the duty of contributing on an altogether enlarged scale of devotion. The claims of the Church abroad are not less than those of the home Church; yet even charitable people only rank missions as one among the many other good works—hospitals, schools, sisterhoods, &c.—to each of which they give probably the same sum; whereas the true disposition of their alms would be an equal division between work at home and abroad, the latter embracing, as it does, under one head, all the varied departments of charity—churches, schools, hospitals, clergy, teachers, orphanages, &c.; each of which in England prefers its separate claim, and receives its separate contribution.

CONCLUSION.

It has been objected to missionary literature that it wears ever the same complexion, which has been described as "rose-colour shot with grey." I shall be quite content if these pages, which aim at recording some of the missionary doings of our own times, meet with the criticism which has befallen worthier efforts; for, if it be true, is it not also true of the history of all mighty undertakings, which are accomplished only by the patient toil of many generations and many centuries? It seems to me that the words are applicable to the labours of those who have given their lives to the task of making other men's lives brighter and happier, or who have devoted themselves to the study of any branch of science; that they are a brief but truthful chronicle of all our strivings as a people after that which is good, our wider knowledge, our enlightened jurisprudence, our milder laws, our more tolerant spirit, our struggles for truest liberty, our gradual adjustments of the constitution under which we live,

> "Where Freedom broadens slowly down
> From precedent to precedent."

They represent that spirit of patient but hopeful perseverance which is begotten of faith, and that spirit of modest self-distrust which is a proof of faith; the union, in short, of personal distrust and of confidence in the excellence of our cause and the final triumph of our work, without which nothing really great can ever be accomplished. It is in this spirit that missionary work must be carried on, and

it is in this spirit that I have endeavoured to write. I have not, indeed, contemplated any ultimate result of missionary work other than that which is promised to faithful labour, because I cannot doubt that in some sense, and perhaps with some limitations which now we cannot contemplate, the day will come when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ; but if I have failed to record temporary disaster, lack of the success which was hoped for, imperfect machinery, deficient zeal, it has been from oversight rather than from a spirit of optimism. Indeed, our failures might be made more valuable, both as teaching and encouraging us, than are the successes which we have been allowed to achieve.

I know of nothing more distressing to earnest Churchmen than the thought that the glorious opportunities which, as it would seem, the Providence of God is now affording to the English Church, may, through our supineness, be lost. It needs no unusual discernment to see that the present is an age of opportunity, a time when we have unprecedented powers of working for God, and responsibilities commensurate with those powers. The work, to which the English Church appears now to be called, ought to be enough to elicit the most intense zeal and the most earnest devotion of the noblest spirits among us. I hope that I have shown how, here and there, unknown to the world and even to each other, solitary men are working, who are not undeserving of such a title, men who are the very salt of the earth, whose simplicity and unselfishness are sweetening an age of much sordidness. We have but to strengthen their hands, by adding to their numbers, by raising up those who shall succeed to their labours, and by furnishing them with those aids, material and spiritual, which they have a right to claim from us. We have to originate no new work; that has been done for us: we have to lay no new foun-

dations; it is ours to build lavishly and boldly on the foundations already laid. The war has begun; the army is in the field, but at present the regiments are few, their ranks thin, their wants but scantily provided for: we have to fill up the skeleton ranks, to give to the missionary army abundance of men, abundance of spiritual weapons, much forethought, much sympathy, many prayers, and with good heart and lively faith to expect success. That expectation need not be a presumptuous one, if we do our best to accomplish its realisation. The scoff of the sceptic, the sneer of the cynic, these are things for which we are prepared; but it is heartbreaking to see men, whose sympathies are wholly with that which is good and true, proof against all contagion of missionary zeal, and folding their arms and helplessly, even pettishly, sighing for the return of ideal "Ages of faith," when they have it in their own power, God helping them, some by personal service, some by gifts of money, and all by prayers and example, to go forth, and, seizing the occasions afforded to them, to make the present an age of faith and of missionary enterprise grander than any that has gone before.

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